An Archaeology of PREHISTORIC BODIES & EMBODIED IDENTITIES in the Eastern Mediterranean

edited by

Maria Mina, Sevi Triantaphyllou & Yiannis Papadatos

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Front cover: Chalcolithic cruciform figurine from Pomos, Cyprus (Cyprus Museum, 1934/III-2/2). Photograph courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

The essays included in this volume were originally presented at the conference *Embodied Identities in the Prehistoric Eastern Mediterranean: Convergence of Theory and Practice*, which was held in Nicosia, Cyprus on 10–12 April 2012. The idea to organise an international conference that focused on the body stemmed from the realisation that many of us archaeologists working in the eastern Mediterranean often touch on the subject of bodies, each in his or her own field of expertise, but rarely are the results of our research discussed within a common framework of the archaeology of the body. The aims of the conference were threefold: (a) to instigate a dialogue between archaeologists who study aspects relating to the body, (b) to encourage archaeologists working in the eastern Mediterranean to reappraise archaeological evidence through body-focused theoretical and methodological approaches, and (c) to highlight the way an archaeology of the body can contribute to a nuanced understanding of prehistoric cultures of the eastern Mediterranean. By encouraging the contributors to discuss their topics with relevance to their particular sets of data, we also aimed to bridge the gap that occasionally occurs between the discipline's often ambitious theoretical pursuits and the actual application of methodological strategies on the archaeological record.

Recent archaeological research has raised awareness about the relevance of the body in understanding collective and individual identities, shared or subjective experiences, symbolic meanings, existential perceptions, and social and cultural practices in past societies. This growing interest in body-focused research is also reflected in the bibliography related to the eastern Mediterranean, as indicated by the works of Hamilakis (2004; 2012), Knapp and Meskell (1997), Morris and Peatfield (2002), Meskell and Joyce (2003), Malafouris (2008), Lorentz (2009), Bulger and Joyce (2012), Simandiraki-Grimshaw (2015), to name but a few. This collection of essays, therefore, aims to contribute to past and ongoing archaeological research in the eastern Mediterranean that relates to the role of the body and embodiment in shaping prehistoric identities. The publication of this volume also reflects the conference's original scope which was to connect archaeologists working in the eastern Mediterranean, beyond the regional limits of their area of expertise, to the broader debates currently contested in the archaeology of the body. Furthermore, the essays included in this volume throw new light on already known and even new sets of data of the prehistoric eastern Mediterranean, but also open up the field to a discourse with archaeologists working in different parts of the world.

The content of the volume reflects the range of themes that were originally presented at the conference and portrays a picture of the areas of interest that occupy archaeologists working in the eastern Mediterranean. Regarding the organisation of the book, we have deliberately avoided grouping the essays according to chronological or regional criteria that would only serve to reproduce the restrictions of old scholarly traditions. By breaking down regional or chronological barriers, therefore, the volume brings together essays that highlight how different sets of data can contribute to our knowledge about themes that pertain to the perception, construction and performance of prehistoric identities. A final point that should be addressed is that the volume is heavily dominated by essays largely written by archaeologists trained in the Anglo-American tradition that focus on the archaeology of the Aegean and Cyprus. Admittedly, we deeply regret the absence of essays on the archaeology of the Balkans (with the exception of Greece), Anatolia, the Levant and the north-eastern African coast, which is nevertheless telling about the dominant trends in the research pursuits in these archaeological fields, the deeply rooted scholarly traditions, and even the hindrances that may be caused by the current state of political affairs in the wider region. Another trend

that is apparent in the range of essays included in the volume is a heavy bias towards the Bronze Age, as opposed to earlier periods, which on one hand may be explained in relation to the availability of archaeological evidence, but on the other may also betray archaeologists uneasiness to apply body-centred theory to a less "robust" archaeological record.

Lastly, we would like to express our sincere gratitude to our guest speakers at the conference, Professors John Robb and Kostas Kotsakis, who offered constructive comments at the conference discussion and for contributing their essays to this volume. We are also indebted to members of the Scientific Committee who provided useful advice in the process of preparing the conference, namely S. Andreou, J. Bennet, C. Broodbank, M. Iakovou, K. Kotsakis, O. Kouka, P. Kourou, L. Meskell, D. Michaelides, D. Pilides, J. Robb, J. Sofaer and J. Whitley. We would also like to thank the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus for hosting the event and the members of staff of the University for their logistical and technical support, as well as Dr O. Kouka for her help with the smooth running of the conference, and Dr S. Phillips for his advice and support. Thanks are also due to the funding organisations and bodies that offered financial support for the organisation of the conference: INSTAP, the Cultural Services of the Ministry of Education and Culture of Cyprus, the University of Cyprus and the Cyprus Tourism Organisation. Finally, we would like to acknowledge the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute and the following hotels in Cyprus for offering subsidised accommodation prices to the conference participants: the Holiday Inn, Castelli Hotel, The Cleopatra Hotel, The Classic Hotel, Centrum Hotel and Europa Hotel.

For the publication of this volume, we are grateful to INSTAP for providing a subvention towards the publication costs and to Julie Gardiner from Oxbow Books for her helpful cooperation. As editors, we have been fortunate to benefit from the kind advice of a number of colleagues: S. Andreou, J. Bennet, K. Kotsakis, O. Kouka, P. Kourou, D. Pilides, J. Robb, J. Soafer and J. Whitley. Finally, we would like to thank all the contributors for their cooperation over the period of preparation of this volume.

Maria Mina, Sevi Triantaphyllou, Yiannis Papadatos

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Introduction

The Archaeology of Bodies and the Eastern Mediterranean

John Robb

Introduction

One of the most amazing objects in any European museum is a painted clay statue on display in Nicosia which shows a woman with a baby emerging upside down from her vagina. It is probably the only representation in all of European prehistory which shows a woman actually giving birth – a mind-boggling fact when one considers, as Mark Twain remarked, that being born is one of the few universal human experiences. And this thought-provoking find is not alone. From the golden face masks of Mycenae to the unparalleled youths and processing women in the Akrotiri frescoes – so unlike anything in either European or Near Eastern art – the Eastern Mediterranean furnishes a pantheon of iconic objects which provide an embarrassment of riches for any history of the body.

What are we to make of such superfluity? They impose a responsibility for equally creative interpretation. Paradoxically, however, such fantastic evidence, especially when combined with the seductive power of textual evidence, can actually impede theoretical interpretation; as in areas such as Egyptian or Mayan studies, it sucks specialists into dense, inward-looking study and allows self-evident or purely local interpretations to prevail. Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean studies have a strong tradition of specialist study, but since the 1970s there have always been liminal scholars bridging between this region and broader theoretical movements. This book represents a key moment in turning away from regionalism towards a broader outlook. It is important not only for Eastern Mediterranean specialists; it makes the unique and amazing archaeology of this area accessible to scholars working elsewhere and leaves its interpretation in the hands of scholars grounded in the region.

What is the body?

It has now been a generation since Conkey and Spector launched the "archaeology of gender" (Conkey and Spector 1984), and 15–20 years since the birth of various self-proclaimed "archaeologies of the body". The archaeology of bodies, however, remains widely acknowledged as important, but used in vague and contradictory ways.

A good starting point is the deceptively simple dichotomy between "natural" and "cultural" bodies. Theories of the body usually fall into "naturalist" or "constructivist" positions (Shilling 2003). Naturalism is the idea that the social characteristics of the body are determined by its biological characteristics – that men rather than women hunt because males are bigger and stronger, for instance. This tends to be the default view in biological studies and in many "common-sense" views taken by the public; it assumes that culture is overlaid upon and dictated by a fixed

biological nature. Although biological differences are important, naturalism *per se* is problematic; for example, male and female bodies overlap in most of their capacities, and tasks which require bodies of a specific sex are actually quite rare; it is much more common to find tasks socially devised to discriminate between what gendered bodies are thought to be "naturally". Naturalism is thus often coupled with a simplistic biological determinism. The opposite position is "constructivism" which construes the body as a cultural construction relatively autonomous from biology. Most of the seminal work in body theory – by Bourdieu (1977), Strathern (1988), Butler (1990), Foucault (1990), Turner (1996) and other thinkers – is constructivist in that it is interested principally in the social definition of the body; it often pays virtually no attention to the body as a biological structure. But underlying the naturalist/ constructivist split is a problematic epistemological split between "nature" and "culture", for instance between "sex" and "gender". This opposition has been critiqued convincingly (Butler 1990; Strathern 1988), and there have been repeated attempts to move beyond it, most notably by a phenomenology inspired approach which sees the sensory, sensual body as mediating between humans as subjects and the world around them (Meskell and Joyce 2003).

The solution is relatively straightforward once we disencumber ourselves of the idea that biology and society are opposed in a zero-sum relationship. Neither the biological body nor the social body exists absolutely and prior to the other. Social bodies acknowledge real biological difference; but the biological body is conceived through socially patterned relationships, and it is nourished, harmed, healed, worked and helped towards and through death within social relationships; biological processes are thus also inherently social (Sofaer 2006; Lock and Nguyen 2010; Robb and Harris 2013).

What then is the body? It is at least three things, which moreover interact inseparably:

- A physical object which both has its own structures and processes and which develops and responds to an environment which is always social.
- An idea with a historical existence, for instance as in medieval concepts of a body constituted through interacting humours, or the modern concept of the body as a functional mechanism.
- An embodied subjectivity which is reproduced through practices, habits, routines, and tastes.

Historians of the body often refer to these in totalising terms such as "the Classical body" or "the modern body", but in any society, these actually form an ensemble of diverse institutions and beliefs which are both coherent and also always self-contradictory and full of tensions. Oliver Harris and I have called such ensembles "body worlds" (Robb and Harris 2013).

Approaches to the anthropology and archaeology of bodies

There is a huge and bewildering literature on the anthropology and archaeology of bodies. We might identify five principal directions of enquiry. Each points study in a quite different direction, usually through a large literature which assumes or claims that it is the only way to conceptualise the subject bodies. It should be noted that major research questions tend to cut across all of them. For example, gender was one of the earliest locuses of study for the body in both anthropology and archaeology, and is represented by work in all traditions. The same is true for questions of the body and social inequality.

1. Symbolic and structuralist anthropologists consider the body as a form of representation, a system of meanings. In this view, studying "the body" means deciphering the metaphors, cosmic maps, or structural oppositions which define it. In archaeology, such investigations might include reconstructing the meaning systems of ancient high civilisations (for instance, how ancient Egyptians thought of the body and death, or how medieval Christians understood the human body as temporary conjunction of spirit and matter). Among prehistoric examples, recent interpretations of Neolithic megaliths such as Stonehenge as ancestral places (Parker Pearson and Ramilsonina 1998) is often predicated upon binary structural oppositions which contrast flesh or wood as transient presences with stone as an enduring presence.
2. Practice theorists such as Bourdieu (1977; 1990) understand the body as the locus of social reproduction, as it is

habituated to act in accordance with habitus, the generative principles of social life. The structures of habitus are expressed through varied genres of practice (Robb 2010). Attempts to analyse habitus archaeologically as an entire system are infrequent (Hodder's *Domestication of Europe* [1990] was the most programmatic attempt, with mixed success), but this conceptual approach underlies much gender archaeology, for instance in understanding activities such as warfare, hunting, weaving, ritual, etc., as the means by which people express and understand their gender (for example, Treherne 1995). The other great intellectual model in this line was Foucault; although not a practice theorist *per se*, Foucault pioneered the study of the body as a locus of power which works through diffuse practices to construct the subjectivity of the person (Foucault 1977; 1990). Foucauldian approaches have had most impact in Classical and historical archaeology, but they have wide potential applicability to prehistoric archaeologies of issues such as sexuality and power.

3. Phenomenological approaches understand the body as the locus of mediation between a person's subjectivity and the world around him or her (Merleau-Ponty 1962). Such approaches have had surprisingly large influence upon archaeology, starting with Tilley's pioneering *Phenomenology of Landscape* (Tilley 1994) which interpreted Neolithic monumental landscapes in terms of the embodied experience of movement and vision. Although vision and landscape have been the centre of phenomenological approaches (Thomas 2001), archaeologies of sound, taste, and haptic experience have also developed (see Hamilakis 2014 for an overview, with particular focus upon the Aegean Bronze Age).
4. Ontological approaches have critiqued fundamental categories of the body from several perspectives. Anthropological and feminist theorisations of personhood have argued that the individual is not a universal, natural form of person. Instead, it is a particular way of being a person typical of the modern West; other societies may understand persons and bodies differently. For example, Strathern (1988) argues that Melanesia societies see persons as unstable, contextually redefined "dividual" bundles of relationalities rather than stable, fixed and impermeable "individuals". The body thus becomes not a clearly bounded, stable entity but a fluid and relational one. A parallel critique in New World ethnography argues that the idea of a body as a universal, singular biological entity overlaid by varying cultural interpretations is a peculiarly Western view; many indigenous American societies see spirits as invariant beings who can take a range of bodily forms (human, animal and otherwise) (Viveiros de Castro 1998). Underlying both approaches is a critique of the simple distinction between mind and matter, culture and nature, and symbol and biology. These approaches have had a wide influence among archaeologists, including archaeologies of personhood (Fowler 2004) and of non-Western ontologies (Alberti *et al.* 2011). Within European prehistory, concepts of personhood have also been used in studies of Bronze Age burial (Brück 2006) and of fragmentation and enchainment in Balkan prehistory (Chapman and Gaydarska 2006). Changes in personhood and concepts of the body (for instance, in representations such as figurines and statue-stelae) have also been seen as a major feature of the 4th and 3rd millennia BC across the continent (Robb 2009; Robb and Harris 2013).
5. Finally, we should not forget that bioarchaeology is fundamentally a study of the social body (Agarwal and Glencross 2011; Sofaer 2006). Demography contributes to the understanding of adulthood and childhood. Studies of DNA may provide evidence of relationships such as familial bonds or kinship. Carbon and nitrogen isotopic studies may show habitual patterns of food consumption; strontium isotopic studies may show mobility during the lifespan. Skeletal signs of activity may reveal social roles of age, gender or specialised labour and identity. Palaeopathologies reveal health not only clinically but socially, with the experience of illness, limitation, care and death. Violence, evident in skeletal trauma, expresses social relations, particularly in patterns of its mode, severity and distribution within a group. Ritual taphonomy may make a major contribution to understanding death as a social transition, often interactive and prolonged beyond the medical point of death in ways which suggest that the dead were active social beings.

Embodiment, the body and material culture

As the ideas above suggest, the body is always historically specific; it always develops in a particular form in a particular social contexts. The condition of embodiment is the experience of having a historically particular form of body (Meskell and Joyce 2003). There are a number of philosophical models for how embodiment comes into being,

in other words, how the relationship between the body and its social context develops. Two general concepts lie at the core of this relationship. The first is the phenomenological insight that the body is the locus of mediation between a person's subjectivity and the world around him or her (Merleau-Ponty 1962). The second is the concept of praxis or practice, through which action both follows ingrained cultural patterns (habitus, in Bourdieu's term) and replicates them (Bourdieu 1977). Habitus is a deeply embodied phenomenon, involving ideas of selfhood, gender, movement and sensation. In a dialectic sometimes termed objectification (Tilley 2006), people externalise cultural concepts and norms in the material world around them; this cultural world then acts back upon them, providing a setting which creates their perceptions and relations and which guides their unfolding, improvised patterns of action. For example, architecture is constructed to embody cultural values such as privacy and autonomy, to represent identities, and to separate areas and functions marked by different values; once built, it acts as a fixed, taken-for-granted medium which channels the interaction and experience of the people living within it.

It follows from this that the body has a constant and intimate relationship with material culture, at all scales from micro-artefacts up to landscapes. In many ways, the body is defined through its relationships with material things. Some of the principal categories of archaeological evidence bearing upon bodies include:

- Representations of ideal, "normal" and stigmatised bodies in art, and of basic categories of bodies such as genders
- Clothing, ornaments and modifications visible on bodies themselves
- Architecture and constructed environments which contain and channel bodies and their movement
- Burials and other funerary treatments which reveal bodily categories and how the body and its transformations at death were understood
- Evidence of the sensorium – visual and auditory environments, as well as taste, odours and haptic experiences
- Biological evidence of bodies, as reviewed above

With so much evidence, how did archaeologists manage to *not* see the body for so long?

And what about Europe?

The general outlines of the prehistory of the body in Europe are clear, even if they have rarely been formulated explicitly, in part because of the intellectual fragmentation of the region among different regions, periods, medial and scholarly traditions. The body in European prehistory has also been the subject of historical and political controversies. The most obvious of these – and one certainly relevant to the Eastern Mediterranean – is the question of whether Neolithic female figurines represent a "mother Goddess" (Gimbutas 1991); similarly, was Minoan Crete a matriarchical world, in contrast to a masculinist Mycenaean tradition, as is often argued in traditional and non-scholarly views? While it is now widely acknowledged that traditional narratives of the European past are androcentric and exclude women's agency and power, seeking redress by creating a narrative of an earlier matriarchical period is not only empirically inaccurate and anachronistic in its understanding of religious doctrine and authority; it simply replaces one totalising narrative of essentialised gender identities with another in a profoundly anti-feminist way (Goodison and Morris 2013).

Nevertheless, the prehistory of the body does show some large-scale trends (Robb and Harris 2013). Although it is impossible for formulate a generalisation which does not have local exceptions, some of the clearest trends include:

- a shift from fluidly transformable Palaeolithic and Mesolithic bodies to more fixed and bounded bodies in the Neolithic, with a clear conceptual separation of humans and animals.
- A shift in the nature of gender imagery in the 4th–3rd millennia BC: the shift is not from female to male images, as sometimes argued, but from heterogeneous and context-specific images to a more stable, clearly binary system of male-female difference which is expressed across contexts such as representations, burial goods, and gendered material culture.

- The rise of new forms of representation such as statue-stelae in the 3rd millennium BC, which are vectors for the presentation of new ideas of political personhood.
- The rise of new bodily technologies; metals, for example, really begin as a technology for enhancing the appearance and performative capability of the body through objects such as ornaments and weapons (which may be considered a form of performative male jewellery); it is only in the 2nd millennium BC that they begin to take on a wider range of technological functionality.
- The use of the body from the Bronze Age onwards as a site for the embodiment and presentation of identities such as ethnicity, and, increasingly social inequality, which was involved in the creation of special elite bodies through material culture, care of the body, consumption practices, and deathways.

Somewhat counter-intuitively, although there are sometimes geographically widespread commonalities in burial tradition such as the spread of cremation in the mid–late 2nd millennium BC, it is particularly difficult to formulate broad generalisations about burial. All periods from the Neolithic through the Iron Age display areas with completely contradictory burial traditions, and there are also many zones in which we have little idea of what people did with the dead. The relations between individual and communal burial are an important case in point. In some areas of Central and Western Europe – above all in the Corded Ware and Bell Beaker areas – the shift from collective tombs to individual burials is often seen as the ideological key to understanding the transition from the Neolithic to Bronze Age. Yet collective tombs only date to about 4500 BC, making them a Middle Neolithic phenomenon in much of Europe, where Early Neolithic deathways often involved single burials (for instance, Central Europe and the Central Mediterranean). Moreover, in much of Europe collective tombs remain the norm throughout the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC (throughout the Mediterranean, for instance). To the extent that there are Europe-wide generalisations about the body, they exist on a more subtle level of contextualised practice and habitus rather than in the simple presence or absence of a particular burial rite.

The body in Eastern Mediterranean prehistory

Every regional archaeology is its own world, and this is particularly true of ones which have long been constituted as specialised research areas. How has the Eastern Mediterranean coped with its embarrassment of riches? As in most regions, the first step is deconstruction and reconstrual. The Eastern Mediterranean has its own stratigraphy of archaeological constructions and misunderstandings. The element of reconstrual is clearer in the fact that virtually all of the papers work from specific, often deeply ordinary bodies of material relatively close to the ground; a prehistory of the body really starts from these rather than from the few, often atypical superstar finds already enmeshed in long-standing meta-narratives. Stevens and Sirimandaki-Grimshaw provide a fascinating and important example of how, at a formative moment in research, Evans not only imposed anachronistic ideas of female identity upon Minoan bodies, he also assumed an idea of integral bodies which may have been alien to the assemblages of fragmented, partible bodies he actually found.

For some archaeologies of the body, the Eastern Mediterranean is ahead of the trend; for others, archaeologies elsewhere may help to set new research agendas. A rising generation of ritual- and taphonomy-minded archaeologists has been digging up the Aegean Bronze Age, creating a critical mass of carefully studied deathways which is equalled only in prehistoric Britain. In this volume, Lorentz explores the potential of bioarchaeology to inform us about the lived body, and Triantaphyllou uses ritual taphonomy to investigate the social construction of age in the Neolithic and Bronze Age. A series of papers (Hatzaki, Galanakis, Girella and Todaro, Legarra Herrero and Papadimitrou) demonstrate effectively the complexity of deathways in the Bronze Age. While ways of dealing with the dead varied immensely, the common denominator is a protracted process of interacting with the dead. Archaeologically, this generally results in variations on the theme of commingled bodies, but it is clear that the real point was to engineer a transformation in the body of the dead, usually through repeated and sometimes dramatic interventions. Moreover, each community actively innovated its own way of dealing with the dead, resulting in a real mosaic of highly differentiated practices; this may underlie the importance of burial as a means of constituting highly local identities.

Similarly, once one gets beyond simplistic ideas of matriarchical Minoans and macho Mycenaeans, the rich

evidence of gender contributes one of the most nuanced pictures in European prehistory. Some elements fit well within a broader picture (for instance, Pivalaki's Iron Age rock art in Thrace dominated by images of horses, weapons and warriors ties into contemporary themes expressed both in rock art at Valcamonica in Alpine Italy and in widespread Iron Age material culture). Yet the continued presence of female cult figurines within the Mycenaean world argues against any simplistic attempt to see Mycenaeans merely as warriors awash in masculinist ideology. Likewise, Vlachou and Mikrakis show how masculinity and femininity were constructed to reflect specific, often unexpected suites of meaning; for example, masculinity in Late Bronze Age/Iron Age Greece involved not only carefully socialised aggression but also specific modes of song, dance and conviviality.

Imagery is more complex. Chapin discusses whether women in Mycenaean frescos were priestesses or goddesses, and Wisniewska shows how images of the "Goddess with upraised arms" in Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age Cyprus were used. As Goula and Papadatos point out, the famous Early Bronze Age "Cycladic" figurines (and related groups on Crete and mainland southern Greece) were complex images, with iconographic links to real, fragmented bodies and to other kinds of objects, and with biographies signified by the contrast between permanently carved and changeably painted features. Cyprus is the richest area in all of Europe for Bronze Age figurines, and Knox points out that the plethora of at least 15 types of figurines in the 2nd millennium BC probably represents different group practices, some influenced deeply by Mycenaean, Levantine or Egyptian models. These papers provoke important questions, but taking these arguments further requires breaking through two traditional conceptual barriers in art theory: what is the relationship between representation and embodied experience, and how can we understand what images do as active material culture, as opposed to a traditional reading of what they mean iconographically?

Finally, where does this leave us with big-picture narratives? The Eastern Mediterranean has unique historical features created by its geographical position. Although politically within Europe now, the Eastern Mediterranean is a liminal region bridging continental European traditions, Near Eastern traditions, and the Egyptian world, a fact which is clear in many aspects of its body history. In some ways it participated in big trends, even when it did so in its own way. The most sweeping changes in the body in later European prehistory occur in the 4th–3rd millennium BC, with a shift to an increasing emphasis on bounded individual bodies with stable characteristics such as gender. Here, Bolger highlights how a shift in the 3rd millennium from picrolite female figurines, often deposited broken, to decorative ornaments betokens a shift from a fractal self to a more standardised self. Similarly, Mina's study of metalwork as part of self-presentation and embodied identity in Middle Bronze Age Cyprus has much in common with contemporary uses of metal in the continental Bronze Age, particularly in forming regional identity networks. In other ways, it cannot be reduced to a common European sequence, but forms part of sometimes unexpected regionalities. For example, in continental European terms, the Eastern Mediterranean is unusual in the persistence of female imagery into the 3rd millennium BC, and in the way these images move from clay to stone and grow larger – a trend it shares with Malta, Sardinia and southern Spain, and one which may reflect the increasing importance of trade and contact lengthwise along the east–west axis of the Mediterranean. And in other ways, it forms unique local systems, which are completely unique and have to be taken on their own terms. Nothing in either continental Europe or the Levant would allow one to predict the amount and complexity of body imagery found in the Minoan or Mycenaean worlds.

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Part I

The Represented Body

1

Polydactyly in Chalcolithic Figurines from Cyprus

Michelle Gamble, Christine Winkelmann and Sherry C. Fox

Mimesis is the imitation of nature and life in art or literature. According to Plato, all art is mimetic of life and therefore a reflection of reality. This theory has spawned an entire philosophy and study of art and the nature of reality and identity (*i.e.* Potolsky 2006, Halliwell 2009 – for a prehistoric example see Borić 2007). If art does indeed reflect reality, then this could present a window into the past, representing either ideal images for a particular period or specific individuals. In some cases, it is possible to observe the integration of a specific biological phenomenon into artistic representation, such as personalised characteristics of an individual or a particular disease or deformity (*i.e.* Barnes 1994, Case *et al.* 2006, 222). Polydactyly is an epigenetic malformation affecting the hands or feet with one or more extra digits. This paper aims to explore the expression of polydactyly in Chalcolithic Cypriot art by documenting the variations in the number and location of the digits presented in the figurines from this period. It will further discuss some of the possible interpretations of these figurines, with regard to the significance attached to polydactyly, through ethnographic examples and an examination of figurine studies on the island.

The Chalcolithic period on Cyprus (*c*. 4000/3900–2500/2400 BC from Knapp 2013, 27) was a dynamic time of increasing social complexity and hierarchy where art flourished. Figurines of hard stone, the mineral commonly referred to as picrolite and clay were rendered by artists on the island, and in all materials, figurines with extra fingers and/or toes have been identified. As art can imitate reality, representations of polydactyly on figurines dating to the Chalcolithic period from Cyprus may demonstrate the condition amongst early Cypriots.

Definition of polydactyly

There are several types of polydactyly, classified by their location on the extremity and the nature of the extra digit. The supernumerary digit can take a range of forms from a small mass of soft tissue (with no osseous changes) to a fully developed extra digit including an extra metatarsal or metacarpal and phalanges. They are typically associated with the 1st (preaxial) or 5th (postaxial) ray of the hands or feet, with the postaxial variety the more common of the two (Temtamy and McKusick 1978, Case *et al.* 2006, 221–2). The heritability of the supernumerary digit is dependent on the type of polydactyly and environmental factors with a range of degrees possible. "Pedigree studies of polydactyly tend to attribute inheritance of most forms to a dominant gene with variable expressivity" (Holt 1975, Case *et al.* 2006, 226). With unpredictability in the expression of polydactyly, even amongst close relatives, it

becomes difficult to use this anomaly to explore familial relationships in the osteoarchaeological record, particularly as some forms of polydactyly do not include osseous changes. However, within a bounded context, such as a tomb group, multiple examples of the expression of a heritable trait can suggest biological relatedness (Wrobel *et al.* 2012, 134).

Polydactyly was observed amongst living Cypriots by J. Lawrence Angel in 1972, and thus could be a trait with some longevity on the island. Angel recorded polydactyly amongst 20th century Turkish Cypriots from the village of Episkopi in the Limassol District. He failed, however, to include whether extra toes or fingers were present and the type of polydactyly (Angel 1972). Modern examples of the deformity are more difficult to learn about as they are frequently dealt with surgically and are currently not recorded in the health statistics of Cyprus.[1] There is great disparity in the locations and time periods where polydactyly is represented (*i.e*. Klaassen *et al.* 2012). It is an abnormality which can be observed in any population to a greater or lesser extent (for studies regarding the prevalence of polydactyly, see, for example, Bingle and Niswander 1975, Temtamy 1979, Al-Qattan 2010, Belthur *et al.* 2011, Materna-Kiryluk *et al.* 2013). Therefore, individuals with extra digits were indeed present within a variety of populations and could have been the chosen subjects of artists.

Polydactyly in art

Polydactyly has been represented in art around the world (Emery and Emery 1994), with some of the earliest examples coming from the American southwest where hands and feet can be found in ancient cave paintings with extra digits. The occurrence of polydactyly in the American southwest has been corroborated by the osteological analysis where there have been at least six cases of polydactyly identified in the skeletal record (Case *et al.* 2006). Therefore, the renditions in art are based on exposure to the anomaly in life. Several famous works of Renaissance art demonstrate polydactyly, such as Raphael's painting *La Belle Jardinière* (Paris, Musée National du Louvre) from 1507 where the left foot of St John and possibly the Virgin display six toes (Mimouni *et al.* 2000). In another work by Raphael, called *The Marriage of the Virgin* (Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera), painted in 1504, polydactyly is represented on the left foot of the bridegroom, Joseph, the only barefoot individual in the image (Mimouni *et al.* 2000, Albury and Weisz 2011). Mimouni *et al.* (2000) suggest that the models Raphael used for these paintings displayed the extra digit and further, that this may indicate that the child from one painting and the man in the other are related (for responses to this see Lazzeri 2010).

Polydactyly in Chalcolithic Cypriot figurines

Turning now to the evidence for polydactyly deriving from the anthropomorphic representations of the Chalcolithic period on Cyprus, an interesting picture emerges. The vast majority of Cypriot Chalcolithic figurines lack modelled hands and feet and the depiction of digits, fingers or toes, is fairly infrequent. Therefore, the observation of extra digits on several figurines and figurine fragments becomes more significant, particularly given the low rate of survival of these extremities. The repertoire of figurines can be divided into three groups based on their raw material: clay, hard stone (*e.g*. limestone, diabase, andesite) and picrolite, a soft serpentinite stone. The figurines typically survive in a damaged state or as small fragments, complicating identification and interpretation. In general, studies of the Chalcolithic period in Cyprus are dominated by excavations in the southwest of the island and therefore, the figurines discussed in this paper are exclusively from that area. This means that a regional artistic motif cannot be ruled out for any conclusions regarding representation of the deformity. The repertoire of Chalcolithic figurines examined by Winkelmann[2] will be presented below, grouped by their material type: picrolite, clay and hard stone.

Picrolite figurines

The most well-known anthropomorphic depictions of the Chalcolithic period are the cruciform figurines with the most popular example being the "Yalia" figurine (Dikaios 1934, 16, pl. vi:1). The assemblage of picrolite figurines examined by Winkelmann is composed of 251 cruciform figurine pendants and figures (for the distinction between

figure and pendant see Vagnetti 1974, 28 and Winkelmann forthcoming). Like the clay and stone figurines, the picrolite cruciform figurines do not usually possess unambiguously shaped hands. Feet are typically represented, but tend to be carved rather schematically. Within the entire picrolite repertoire, 19 cruciform figurines are depicted with fingers and/or toes, with the latter occurring more frequently. This represents 7.6% of the entire assemblage. These are mainly of the "Salamiou Variety" (Vagnetti 1974, 29).

The representation of digits is not necessarily linked to the size of the particular item. For example, one of the smallest cruciform figurines (Vagnetti 1980, no. 6), with a height of only 4.0 cm, has five well-defined toes (at least on one foot), whereas one cruciform figurine with exceptionally wide feet (Paphos Museum 2125 – height of 6.0 cm) has only four toes represented (Flourentzos 1990, 44, cat. no. 36). However, the former may be an exception as usually the under-representation of digits does tend to occur on smaller figurines. Therefore, a deliberate depiction of oligodactyly (missing digits) cannot be stated with certainty; however, polydactyly is more likely to be a conscious choice.

There is only one case, derived from Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*, where a picrolite figurine clearly displays polydactyly, representing just 5.3% of the repertoire of picrolite figurines with digits rendered. This figurine has fingers indicated by incisions, five on one hand, but seven on the other (Goring 1998, 181, KM 1052; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, fig. 83.9; Fig. 1.1). Taking into account the size of this specimen, at only 7.0 cm in height, it seems that polydactyly was deliberately represented (Winkelmann forthcoming).

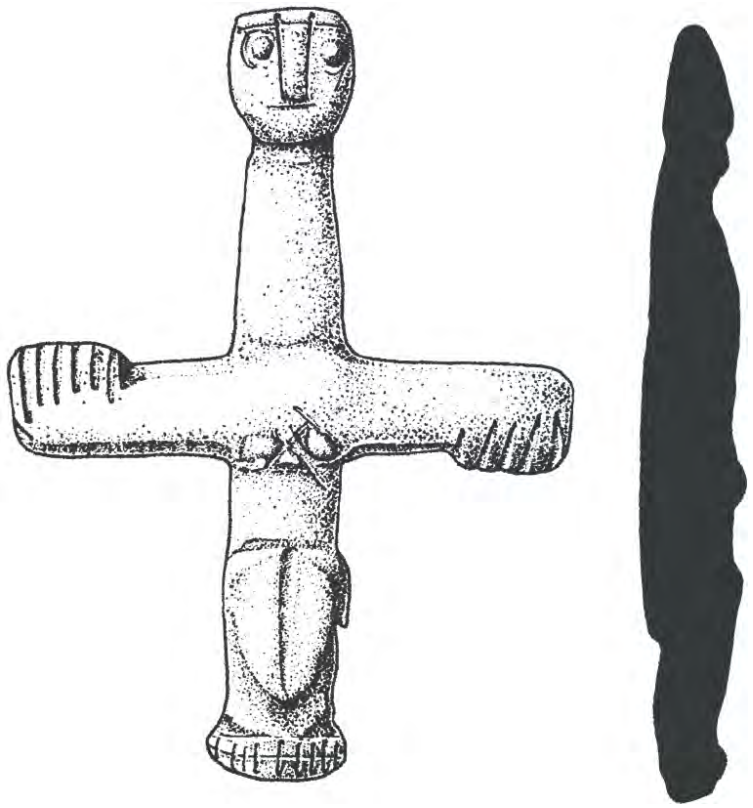

Figure 1.1: Picrolite figurine with seven digits on one hand (after Peltenburg et al. 1998, fig. 83.9).

Clay figurines

Winkelmann examined a total of 191 anthropomorphic clay figurine specimens from the Chalcolithic period, most of which are highly fragmentary. Of this collection, 26 possess modelled hands or feet. The relatively small number of figurines with hands and feet rendered is somewhat curious given the malleability of clay. Overall, only 15 of these figurines are furnished with fingers, toes or both. That corresponds to 7.9% of the whole repertoire of clay figurines. Extra digits are observed on three figures, which represent 11.5% of all clay figurines with modelled hands or feet.

One of the clearest recorded examples for the modelling of multiple digits in clay is on a limb fragment from Kissonerga-*Mylouthkia* (Goring 2003, 171, 175, pl. 13.14, KMyl 307; Fig. 1.2). It is ambiguous as to whether it originally belonged to an anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figure. While Goring favours the zoomorphic

interpretation, the lack of zoomorphic figurines which possess limbs of this shape suggests that it is an anthropomorphic figure. This interpretation is supported by anthropomorphic birth figures from the nearby site of Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* which have similar extremities (cf. Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, fig. 85.5). The limb from Kissonerga-*Mylouthkia* ends in a paw-like terminal with seven deeply incised grooves indicating eight digits, whether these are fingers, toes or claws (Goring 2003, 175).

The second example is an arm and shoulder or leg and thigh fragment from Erimi-*Pamboula* (ER 1056). It is described as having "five incisions at [the] extreme end for fingers" (Bolger 1988, 109, cat. no. 20), which reflects six fingers. Unfortunately, the published illustrations (photo and drawing) do not show the object at an angle where all digits are visible, therefore no further interpretation can be drawn at this time.

Finally, the third example of polydactyly in ceramic figurines is a leg fragment of a seated figure from Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (KM 507) which is described as having a "paw-like foot with five deep incised cuts" (Goring 1998, 185). This again would represent six toes. As in the previous case, the illustration available does not show this irregularity (Peltenburg *et al.* 1991, fig. 29: KM 507). Overall, of the 12 clay figurines which possess digits, approximately one-quarter display evidence of polydactyly.

Figure 1.2: Ceramic figurine with eight digits rendered (after Peltenburg et al. 2003, pl. 13.14).

Stone figurines

Winkelmann has identified 84 stone objects as figurines or fragments of figurines from Chalcolithic excavations. The anthropomorphic figures are carved from stone such as limestone, diabase or calcarenite and are fairly schematic in form. Barring one special exception described in the next paragraph, none of the figurines included in this sample of 84 objects have modelled hands and very few show modelled feet, let alone digits of any kind.

Currently, only one known anthropomorphic stone figurine has elaborately carved feet. This figure, now housed in the Getty Museum, Malibu (Karageorghis *et al.* 1990, 32), is 39.5 cm tall and is the largest known complete limestone statuette of the Chalcolithic period (Thimme 1976, 565, cat. no. 573; Fig. 1.3). It is an extremely expertly worked stone figurine. It stylistically combines the cruciform figurine shape of the picrolite specimens with the pronounced femininity (pendulous breasts, fairly broad hips) usually characteristic of figurines and statuettes made of hard stones (Winkelmann forthcoming). Each foot is equipped with six finely carved, well-defined toes.

Figure 1.3: The Getty Lady, with supernumerary foot digits (digital image, courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).

The unusual number of digits cannot be considered coincidental due to the skilful rendering of the object. Additionally the workability of the material and the size of the object must be considered, particularly in light of the fact that it is the only hard stone specimen to display more elaborately carved feet. The size and the skill required to carve this figure points to it being a special object for the Chalcolithic people – and it was consciously rendered with an extra toe per foot.

While the representation of digits is, overall, quite limited amongst the Chalcolithic anthropomorphic figurines, there is a relatively high occurrence of the depiction of anomalous numbers of fingers or toes. The representation of polydactyly appears to be a deliberate choice on Cypriot figurines. Therefore it seems likely that it was a known physical phenomenon to the inhabitants of prehistoric Cyprus. However, the questions remain as to why polydactyly was depicted at all, whether it had a particular significance and whether it can be observed in the osteological record.

Discussion

The relatively high proportion of figurines with anomalous digits during the Chalcolithic period in Cyprus may represent a higher-than-average (according to Case *et al.* 2006) proportion of individuals with this deformity within the population. Depending on the type of polydactyly (if it creates osseous changes), it could be observed in the osteoarchaeological record (for images of osteological appearance of polydactyly, see Case *et al.* 2006, 224). That being said, the study by Watanabe *et al.* (1992) reflects that postaxial polydactyly was the most common type, and that in two-thirds of the 265 cases they examined, the duplication occurred at the intermediate phalanx. Thus, if the abnormality is expressed at the phalangeal level rather than the metatarsal or metacarpal level, preservation will have a great effect on the ability to detect polydactyly in archaeological samples (Case *et al.* 2006, 225). The generally poor preservation and condition of human remains from the prehistoric periods in Cyprus complicates this research, as many of the small bones have been damaged since death and burial by environmental processes (Gamble 2011, 379). Further complicating identification of anomalous hand or foot bones is the nature of mortuary practice in the Chalcolithic period on the island. Particularly during the Middle Chalcolithic period (*c*. 3000 BC), burial practice is highly variable and may include multiple individuals within a burial, eventual commingling from secondary burial or possible retention by the living of specific bones, or at the very least the manipulation of the skeletal remains following their primary deposition (Niklasson 1991, Gamble 2011, 405).

Based on analysis of the skeletal remains from Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*, Lemba-*Lakkous* and Souskiou-*Laona*, there are no recorded cases of polydactyly in the osteological record, though none of the skeletons observed is 100% complete (Gamble 2011). Given that the frequency of occurrence of polydactyly in modern populations is between 0.03% and 1.37% (Case *et al.* 2006, 221), it seems plausible that extra digits were at the very least present and visible amongst the Chalcolithic people, though it is difficult to be certain. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the motivation behind the consistent depiction of this unusual, visible variation in their art. For example, it may be possible that polydactyly played a role in the belief systems or cosmology or social hierarchy of the Chalcolithic peoples which would encourage the representation of this inheritable variation in their anthropomorphic figurines.

Throughout time, and in different locations around the world, polydactyly has been viewed with both positive and negative sentiments (*i.e*. Perez and Raciti 2011, Klaassen *et al.* 2012). In the American southwest, Case *et al.* (2006) have interpreted the relative high status of the burial of an infant with polydactylous feet as possibly reflecting a special status for this individual. Using the ethnographic study by Sargent (1988) of the Bariba of Africa, they suggest that polydactyly may have conferred an aspect of prestige, reflecting future prosperity for that individual (Sargent 1988, Case *et al.* 2006, 232). Robertson *et al.* (2004) have suggested that the Maya at Palenque used physical deformity as a means of more firmly establishing their hereditary right to rule, believing that deformities such as acromegaly, clubfoot and polydactyly were divine gifts reflecting the gods' bestowal of power on the individual (*i.e*. the ruler Chan-Bahlum used his polydactylous feet to proclaim his divine right to rule). Further, within Mayan iconography, it has been suggested that polydactyly was used to convey a supernatural status and that an individual with this deformity may have received special or deferential attention (Wrobel *et al.* 2012, 139). The examples provided here reflect a positive or even reverent attitude towards polydactyly amongst these prehistoric populations. This sentiment does not necessarily continue into the later periods, where physical deformities were

sometimes viewed as aberrations of God's image and a punishment for the original sin (Ferngren 1987, 52; Sullivan 2001, 262). A closer look at figurine studies on Cyprus will present the possible interpretations of figurine use during the Chalcolithic period and provide insight into the expression of polydactyly.

Unfortunately, the majority of figurines from the Chalcolithic period have been recovered from unknown or uncertain provenience, making it difficult to discuss their role in society. The outstanding "Getty Idol" limestone figurine sadly also falls into this category, which makes it more difficult to understand why this particular figure had an extra toe on each foot and in what context it was placed to help interpret the role polydactyly may have played in Chalcolithic beliefs. Though it has been suggested that it may have come from a grave (Karageorghis 1980, 19–20), comparison with another large stone figure, the "Lemba Lady", supports the idea that it was placed inside a building. Moreover, in the latter case, this structure appears to have had an exceptional status within the settlement, possibly serving as "a sacred place". Based on their size, these quite large and heavy anthropomorphic depictions might even have been "cult figures" (Peltenburg 1977, 140–1).

There is a variety of interpretations regarding the use and understanding of the cruciform figures in Chalcolithic Cyprus. Amongst them is the possibility that they represent a female in the birthing position and they were perhaps used with a medico-religious function (*i.e*. Bolger 1992, 153 and 1994; *contra* Winkelmann forthcoming). Perhaps then, an extra digit was viewed as good luck in fertility or labour and delivery, or, as Winkelmann proposes, they connected a group of individuals within the community (Peltenburg 1991, 114) and more generally were considered good luck or positive talismans. That the "Getty Idol", a hard stone figurine in the cruciform shape, is rendered with an extra digit does not seem to be accidental, indicating that even if polydactyly may not have been a common phenomenon in the Chalcolithic period, it was recorded on some of their most special objects, though the reasons for it remain uncertain.

As with the stone figurines, there is ambiguity in the contextual information of clay figurines which usually derive from settlement contexts. The clay figurines were generally recovered from fill layers, rubbish pits or general habitation layers within the settlement. However, in one exceptional case, a group of birth figurines from Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* were found in a ritual deposit. Investigations of this particular group of birth figurines, undertaken by Goring (1991), have shown that these objects have been handled quite frequently. Based on ethnographic parallels, Goring proposed that they could have functioned as teaching aids, possibly during rituals (Goring 1991, 51–5). This conclusion agrees with suggestions by Bolger, who puts forward the interpretation that certain figurines may have played a didactic role in the birthing ritual and process and/or been used as "ritual" charms during birth (Bolger 1994). It is unclear in two of the three ceramic examples of polydactylous limbs whether these figures are conclusively human or animal and it is uncertain whether they are upper or lower limbs. Therefore, it is difficult to interpret the meaning or role of these polydactylous figurine fragments. However, as KMy l307 with its extra digits shares similar aesthetic traits with the birthing figurine KM 507 from Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (general fill layer), it is possible that it may have derived from the birthing figurine type and therefore be associated with fertility ritual and teaching. Ceramic figurines likely played a variety of roles within Chalcolithic society from ritual object to didactic item (Winkelmann forthcoming). This variety within the repertoire perhaps suggests that art was indeed imitating life and the ceramic polydactylous limbs may have reflected a variation in morphology which was observed within the community.

The picrolite cruciform figures recovered to date are predominantly used as pendants with the majority recovered from graves, particularly at the settlement sites of Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* and Lemba-*Lakkous* and the cemetery site of Souskiou-*Vathrykakas* (Peltenburg 1992, 32–3; Bolger 2002, 78; Peltenburg 2006). Winkelmann's investigations into the context of picrolite figurines show that the cruciform figurines occur in child and adult burials and both in female and male graves, though the sex of the individual could only be determined in a limited number of cases. The single picrolite figurine that displays an extra digit is derived from Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* but was found in a general layer (Unit 817) in mixed context with no associated features, which makes establishing the possible importance of this figurine more difficult (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 371). Picrolite has been interpreted by Peltenburg and others as a high status commodity product, typically included in burials during the Chalcolithic period (Peltenburg 1991, 114). Picrolite figurines are described as being prestige items within the Chalcolithic population, and though there are several interpretations regarding their meaning, none have attained unanimous acceptance (*i.e*. Peltenburg 1991; 2002; Bolger 2002; Windsor 2009). At this point, there does not seem to be a general consensus on

the age or sex of the individuals with whom picrolite figurines were buried. Windsor has suggested that picrolite figurines are associated with death ritual and familial connections (2009). If this is the case, it could be possible that a picrolite figurine with polydactyly represents a familial trait or perhaps a belief in the good luck or prosperity of the family group evidenced by or connected to the extra digit.

As the majority of the figurines of all material types do not display polydactyly, it cannot be said that this trait is linked to a particular material. The fact that it occurs at all and with some relative frequency compared to the number of figurines with rendered digits is noteworthy. It begs the question as to whether these specific figurines represent a conventional, undefined or supernatural individual, or a specific one within the community. If the latter is the case, these particular individuals may be perceived as lucky or good luck. In general, it would seem that they must have been viewed in a positive light within the Chalcolithic community as supernumerary digits are rendered on some of their most special and possibly revered objects, like the "Getty Idol" and the picrolite figurines. It was a common enough phenomenon to occur in the terracotta figures with some frequency, making it appear that this could be a relatively common anomaly amongst the Chalcolithic population.

This paper represents the first systematic examination of the expression of a particular biological phenomenon in the prehistoric art of Cyprus, and focuses specifically on the Chalcolithic period. Within the preceding Neolithic periods on Cyprus, there are no figurines with fingers and toes represented currently known (Winklemann forthcoming). However, one of these figures, an andesite stone figurine, presents an intriguing decoration with multiple incised lines along the bottom and sides of the figure which presents the possibility of a wide variety of interpretations (Karageorghis *et al.* 1990, 29). Furthermore, there is evidence for the representation of polydactyly in the following Early and Middle Bronze Ages. Even though only a brief survey has been conducted thus far, one figurine (Karageorghis 1991, cat. no. WHP.D3; pl. cxxxix:1) has been observed to display polydactyly, with five incisions reflecting six toes. There is a second, less conclusive possible example, where a bulge on the side of the foot of the figure may represent a mass of soft tissue (Karageorghis 1991, cat. no. Ea.9; pl. cxl:7). Further exploration of the expression of polydactyly in prehistoric Mediterranean art has thus far not yielded any results, but with studies in this area of the world now beginning to focus on the body and depictions and conceptions of the body in the past, it is possible that more examples will emerge in the future. Using anthropomorphic representations from the past can, and indeed has been used as a means of interpreting past peoples" ideals as well as their reality. Overall, exploring the use of deformity or anomalous morphological expression in art provides another strand of research and source of information which will contribute to understanding some of the diseases and deformities to which past cultures may have been exposed.

To conclude, it seems likely, that polydactyly did occur within the Chalcolithic populations, and that artists chose to depict this feature in their anthropomorphic figurines. This paper presents a mimetic approach to art and interpreting art from the distant past, where the images which have survived are believed to imitate reality in the prehistoric period. Therefore, given the relatively high proportion of figurines with polydactyly, a significant number of individuals may have displayed a supernumerary digit in the Chalcolithic period or at least viewed it as remarkable or special. This is a highly visible physical deviation from the "normal" and the fact that it has been incorporated into the enduring art of the Chalcolithic people may provide insight into how they viewed or regarded the human body. However, understanding how the Chalcolithic populations viewed this deformity is difficult. Using ethnographic studies and the prestige of the items with polydactyly within the Chalcolithic Cypriot repertoire, it seems to indicate that the supernumerary digit was viewed as a positive attribute, possibly bestowed upon the fortunate or divinely chosen. This brief overview of some of the Chalcolithic figurines of Cyprus demonstrates some of the diversity in the possible contexts and functions of these artefacts. The particular significance of each different figurine is likely to have been as varied. Thus, polydactyly occurs on different kinds of anthropomorphic figurines which had quite different possible meanings ranging from "dwelling"-based cult figures and practically applied ritual objects (both groups connected with different aspects of fertility) to sex-neutral status symbols in the form of pendants and grave goods. Although polydactyly may never be identified amongst human skeletal remains from archaeological contexts on the island, it likely existed then, as it does today, based upon the enduring remnants of the past depicted in Chalcolithic figurines.

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Notes

1 An extensive search of medical journals and the World Health Organisation online statistics for Cyprus did not uncover any record of the current prevalence of polydactyly on the island. Anecdotal mentions of polydacytly do occur (*i.e*. Hare 1954, Hatchwell and Dennis 1996), where polydactylous patients described in the papers are from Cyprus. It is possible that there are studies regarding the prevalence of polydactyly in the modern Cypriot population in Cypriot medical journals which the authors were unable to access.

2 The following observations are based on the catalogue of a PhD thesis on Cypriot prehistoric figurines (Winkelmann forthcoming). The numbers presented here are preliminary as new publications currently in progress will add to the overall total number of figurines from the Chalcolithic period.

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2

Figurines, Paint and the Perception of the Body in the Early Bronze Age Southern Aegean

Yiannis Papadatos

Introduction

Most studies on anthropomorphic figurines of the Early Bronze Age (hereafter EBA) in the southern Aegean tend to emphasise the strong similarities concerning their type, form and context of findspot (Renfrew 1969; 1991; Branigan 1972; Getz-Preziosi 1987; Doumas 2002). This is largely because Cycladic three-dimensional iconography, particularly the female figurines with folded arms, profoundly influenced the neighbouring areas. Imports from the Cyclades, hybrid types and local imitations of Cycladic-type figurines were found in many sites across the littoral southern Aegean and Crete (Branigan 1972; Sakellarakis 1987; Mina 2008). The typological homogeneity of these figurines was used as evidence for the adoption in many areas of the Aegean of a common material vocabulary as well as of Cycladic practices, symbols or even ways of living, a phenomenon widely known under the term "International Spirit" (Renfrew 1972, 444, 451; Broodbank 1989, 1993; 2000, 256–62). In contrast to earlier ideas about the presence of Cycladic colonies in the Aegean, it is now accepted that this phenomenon is the result of intensive interaction and trading by agencies aiming at social distinction and increased social status (Broodbank 2000, 247–56; Papadatos 2007; Papadatos and Tomkins 2013).

Recent studies have also shown that the "International Spirit" phenomenon was closely associated with forms and practices related to notions about the human body, identity and personhood (Carter 1998; Broodbank 2000, 247–56; Catapoti 2011). Such approaches are largely based on a shift of scholarly interest from the uniformity of the typological features of these figurines to the variability of the painted decoration. The latter was used as evidence to suggest that through painted motifs figurines conveyed information and messages that might be related to issues of identity and social distinction or other unknown values and beliefs of the EBA Aegean communities (Broodbank 1992; 2000, 63–5, 247–75; Hendrix 1998; 2003; Sherratt 2000, 134; Hoffman 2002; Papadatos 2003; Carter 2008, 120–1).

However, all these studies tend to discuss the entire corpus of the Cycladic-type figurines as a whole, without trying to distinguish patterns that may have existed between different areas of the Aegean in the way figurines were produced, used and deposited. Thus, the aim of this paper is to examine the evidence for painted decoration on Cycladic-type figurines from two different areas, the Cyclades and Crete, discuss the possible analogies with the decoration of the human body, and attempt a comparative analysis in order to identify possible regional differences

in the application of painted decoration, in the messages conveyed by the painted motifs and the perception of the human body. Before proceeding with the analysis, it is important to emphasise that the following discussion concerns the canonical Cycladic-type figurines with folded arms, not only because they constitute the overwhelming majority of the existing corpus, but mostly because it was the only type that was adopted and influenced figurine production and human body representation in areas outside the Cyclades.

Figurines, paint, and the human body in the Cyclades

General characteristics

The study of the corpus of figurines from the Cyclades presents many problems, namely the lack of information about their context and the indisputable existence of fakes which are difficult to detect by analytical techniques (Gill and Chippindale 1993, 615–21). Despite the problems, there are some points of consensus concerning the meaning and use of these figurines.

First, the figurines were not manufactured exclusively for funerary use (Broodbank 2000, 262; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 155–8). Figurines found in settlements are extremely few, but traces of use, clear signs of repair and figurines travelling and exchanged over long distances clearly suggest that they formed a special category of "biographic" objects, in other words artefacts with a long history of use, during which they could have moved between regions, communities and people, changed owners and contexts of use, and thus formed their own biographies (Papadatos 2003).

Secondly, in contrast to earlier ideas about their simple, clean and white forms, it is now widely acknowledged that the Cycladic figurines were in many (if not most) cases painted (Broodbank 1992; 2000, 247–75; Sherratt 2000, 134; Papadatos 2003, Carter 2008). Direct evidence, namely traces of red, blue, green and black paint on the figurines themselves or "paint ghosts" (areas of low relief as result of differential weathering of the marble), is limited. This includes facial and anatomical features, such as eyes, eyebrows, ears and hairstyle, and non-anatomical motifs, namely pieces of jewellery, such as diadems and necklaces, and abstract symbols, such as dots, stripes, zigzag lines and dot-rosette motifs (Preziosi and Weinberg 1970; Getz-Preziosi 1987, 53–4; Birtacha 2003, in press a; Hendrix 1998, 2003; Hoffman 2002; Goula this volume, Figs 3.1a and 3.3). Indirect evidence is more common, including lumps of pigment and associated implements for grinding, such as bowls, palettes and pestles, and storing of colourants, such as bone tubes and tiny jars (Televantou 1990, 57; Goula this volume, Fig. 3.1c). The colourants used include hematite, lead and cinnabar for red, malachite for green and azurite for blue (Birtacha in press a). Evidence for processing of red pigments comes not only from settlements, such as Skarkos and Akrotiri (Birtacha in press a), but also from many cemeteries, suggesting that the processing and application of colour was also an integral part of the funerary ceremony (Hendrix 1998, 7), at least in the case of a small number of burials.

On the basis of the above, it is now largely accepted that the important aspect of these figurines was not their shape, type, outline or sculptured form, but their painted decoration. Moreover, in several cases the painted patterns do not depict or emphasise anatomical features: indeed they seem to deliberately ignore or even distort the outline and the form of the figurine. Consequently, the white sculpture was not a finished figurine, but rather a blank canvas, onto which symbols, patterns and features were painted in red and blue color. Thus, the main vehicle of meaning was not the form and shape of the figurines but their painted decoration.

The significance of the painted decoration

The meaning and significance of the painted symbols remain largely unknown, but there are a few things that can be suggested with some degree of certainty. Firstly, the painted decoration constitutes a point of variability and differentiation. Without painted motifs the Cycladic figurines constitute a large corpus of artefacts very similar in shape and type, following strict conventions concerning the posture, the position of arms and legs, and the way the head and other anatomical features are rendered. Even if we accept that not all figurines were actually painted, the presence or absence of paint constituted a message with strong social and/or symbolic connotations for the people that owned, used or just observed them. Thus, social differentiation and distinction was perhaps the main motive

behind the use of paint on figurines. The acceptance of this idea has major implications in the way we perceive these figurines, which were traditionally regarded as religious objects on the basis of their typological uniformity (Renfrew 1984, 26).

Distinction was achieved not only through the use of different motifs or combination of motifs, but also through the use of particular pigments. Concerning the colour red, hematite and lead are widely available in the Cyclades, but cinnabar is a very rare pigment. Extremely small quantities have been reported from Euboea, Naxos and Laurion, but the closest sources, used during antiquity, are in the area of Ephesus (Birtacha 2003; Carter 2008). Blue azurite was available but only in the metalliferous islands of the western Cyclades. Thus, the acquisition of colourants was not easy, since it necessitated participation in long-range networks of exchange and interaction, and, in the case of azurite, was associated with prestigious technical knowledge and practice related to the acquisition of ores for the production of metal artefacts. Last, but not least, the idea of social distinction through the use of paint is reinforced by the fact that evidence concerning paint is found in a few, particularly wealthy graves (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 31; Birtacha 1999, 55–6; Broodbank 2000, 249).

Figurines and the human body

There is indirect evidence to support the idea of the parallel use of painted motifs for the decoration of both the figurines and the human body (Televantou 1990, 57; Broodbank 2000, 249; Carter 2008).

The numerous obsidian blades and the few metal scrapers and tweezers found in Cycladic graves have been interpreted as being implements for shaving and body depilation (Carter 2008), a practice necessary for the preparation of the skin to receive painted decoration. In many occasions, pigments and associated implements are found in tombs without figurines, indicating that the paint was intended to be applied on the body of the dead and/or the mourners, instead of the figurines. Finally, the decoration of the human body with painted motifs similar to those used for the decoration of other categories of material culture is a practice well documented elsewhere, particularly in the case of figurines which by definition constitute representations of the human body (Talalay 1993, 71).

It seems, therefore, that painted decoration was the link between the figurines and the people that owned and/or used them. On this basis, I have suggested elsewhere that the figurines were not simply carriers of messages, but, as biographical objects, could be closely associated with critical moments in people's life cycle, through their use in rites of passage and other ceremonies (Papadatos 2003). Until now, this connection can be established only for the ultimate ritual of human existence, the funeral, and it is rather improbable that we will be able to prove it for other rituals occurring during life time.

Tattooing and scarification vs body painting

To understand better the significance and meaning of the paint on the figurines and the human body, it is important to understand the differences between tattooing, scarification and body painting. Most scholars, when discussing the above evidence, use these terms without distinguishing them. However, tattoos and scarification constitute a permanent commitment which "locks" the individual with a particular identity or into a fixed category and "space" in society. They express or represent identities and messages which are considered fixed, stable and permanent. On the other hand, painted decoration, either on figurines or the human body, is malleable and the transmitted messages can be changed or negotiated over time or through space. As expected, it is difficult to know what the case was in the prehistoric Cyclades. There is, however, evidence which, in my opinion, suggests body painting rather than tattooing or scarification.

First, it is interesting to compare the incised and relief features of the figurines as opposed to the painted ones. Features rendered by incision or relief, *i.e*. in a permanent and fixed way, include mostly anatomical parts which could not or were not supposed to change, such as the nose, the hands, the fingers, the feet and the toes. Also, incision and relief were used for anatomical features related to identities that were probably regarded as fixed, particularly features related to the biological sex, such as the breasts and the genitalia.

Paint, on the other hand, was used to render two categories of features. First, it was used for features or anatomical parts that could be subject to change, such as the hairstyle, which can be formed in different ways, the

eyebrows, which can be depilated, the eyes and rarely the mouth, which can be presented open or closed. It is interesting to note that all these features are confined to the head. Secondly, several figurines have abstract motifs on the face and the body that are not related to anatomical parts and are difficult to be interpreted, such as dots, eyes and zigzags.

On this basis, it seems that the main reason behind the choice to use incised/relief or painted features is whether the depicted features were regarded as permanent or malleable, fixed or negotiable, stable or subject to change. This argument has two implications for our understanding of the meaning of figurines and the perception of the human body by the people of the EBA Cyclades.

First, it allows us to distinguish two different categories of accoutrements carried on the body, in relation to the way they were depicted. Daggers, which were always rendered by incision or relief, signified identities and virtues – either manhood and masculinity (Nakou 1995) or special status irrelevant of gender (Mina 2010) – might have been considered as fixed and permanent to the individual who carried them. A different situation seems to be the case with jewellery and objects of body adornment, which were always rendered in paint, and could be, therefore, changed.

It can also be argued that the advantage of the features painted on the figurines and the human body is their ability to be negotiated and change by adding new features on top of previous or erasing old features and drawing new ones, in contrast to relief and incised features which are irreversible. Consequently, any changed in the temporal, spatial, cultural or social context could have left its mark on the surface of the figurine or the skin of the human body through changes in the painted decoration. A few figurines preserving layers of successive painted motifs may support this view.

The above idea, although to a certain degree hypothetical, explains several characteristics of the Cycladic figurines (Papadatos 2003, 286). Firstly, it justifies the persistent use of white marble which provides a suitable light-coloured surface for the application of painted decoration, in contrast to other materials such as coloured stones, wood and clay. Secondly, it shows that the high degree of abstraction was not the result of an artistic and/or aesthetic preference, but a deliberate choice which allowed the depiction of more features and motifs through painting.

To conclude, in the Cyclades, the figurines and perhaps the human body constituted a blank canvas onto which people not only wrote, but could also erase and rewrite or add new symbols, and in this way express, negotiate or change messages concerning identity and status.

The evidence from Crete

Despite the strong influence of Cycladic three-dimensional iconography in Crete, there seem to be sharp differences between the two areas concerning the use of paint.

There is no local Cretan tradition for the production of anthropomorphic figurines. Apart from some schematic types, the figurines found in Crete have strong affinities with the Cyclades. The corpus is not as large (for figurines found before 1970, see Branigan 1972, 58–64; for figurines found up to 1999, see Papadatos 1999, appendix v; for more recent finds, see Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997; Papadatos 2005; Serpetsidaki 2005; Tsipopoulou 2010), but, in contrast to the more extensive Cycladic group, it does not comprise fakes, and almost all the figurines are of known provenance, deriving from funerary contexts, with the single exception of a broken torso used secondarily as building material in a wall at the Prepalatial settlement of Vasiliki (Zois 1972).

Typology shows that the figurines imported from the Cyclades to Crete are relatively few (Papadatos 2007, 425–8), while the rest belong to types developed and produced in Crete. Two main typological groups can be distinguished, depending on the degree of Cycladic influence. The figurines of the Koumasa type (Fig. 2.1, 1) are considered of Cycladic character, because they follow all the features and conventions of the Cycladic canonical figurines with folded arms (Renfrew 1969, 18–19; Branigan 1972, 61). The figurines of the Hagia Triada, Trapeza and Siva types are considered as derivative or of Cycladicising character, because they selectively adopt a few Cycladic features, namely the folded arms, the standing position and the abstract rendering of the face (Fig. 2.1, 2 and 3; Branigan 1972, 70–3; Ferrence 2011). The development and production of local Cycladic and Cycladicising types show that the Cycladic figurines on Crete were not considered as objects of "exotic" nature (Papadatos 2007, 433–4). Instead, as in the case of the Cyclades, they were highly desirable for display and conspicuous consumption

in mortuary contexts, signifying social distinction and special social status (Papadatos 2007, 435–41).

In contrast to the above typological and functional similarities and the strong Cycladic influences on the Cretan figurines, the evidence for the use of paint shows a rather different picture. In contrast to the persistent use of marble in the Cyclades, in Crete a broad array of locally available raw materials was used, including limestone, bone, spondylus shell, steatite and schist. These materials were used for the manufacture of all the figurines of the Cycladicising types, but also for some figurines of the Koumasa type (Papadatos 2007, 428). It is important to note that none of these materials provides the bright, white surface which would enhance the visual impression of painted decoration, as seen in the case of the white marble figurines of the Cyclades. Traces of paint or "painted ghosts" have been identified in a few Cycladic-type figurines (Birtacha in press b), suggesting that painted decoration was not unknown to the inhabitants of Crete. However, painted decoration exists only on imported or locally made Koumasa type figurines, which are made of white marble, while the Cycladicising figurines made of other raw materials do not bear any traces of paint.

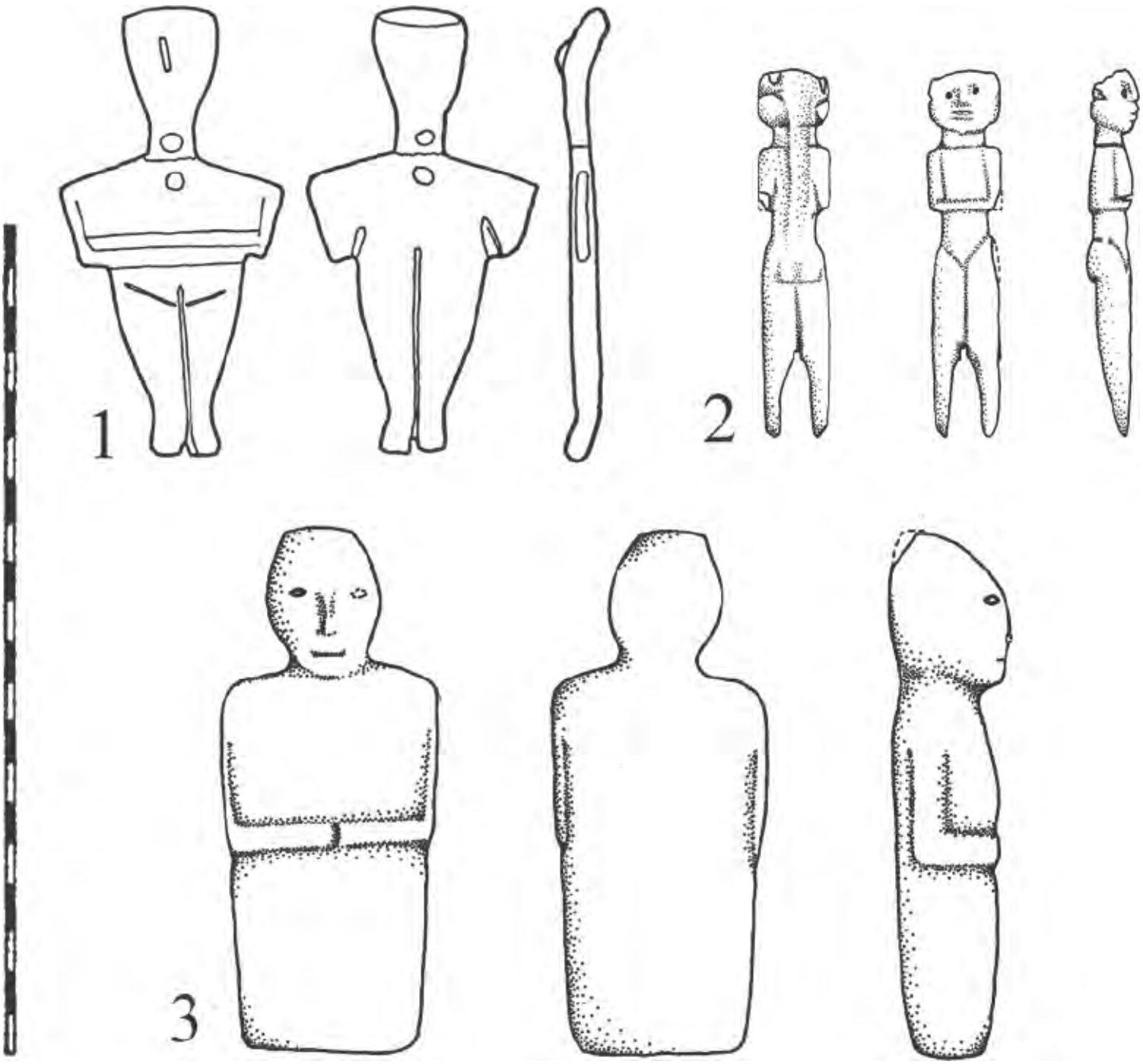

Figure 2.1: Types of Cycladic and Cycladicising figurines found in Crete: 1) Figurine of the Koumasa type from Koumasa (Source: Renfrew 1969, ill. 2, iv.E; courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens); 2) Figurine of the Siva type from Hagios Charalambos (Source: Ferrence 2011, fig. 1a; courtesy of the author); 3) Figurine of the Hagia Triada type from Hagios Charalambos (Source: Ferrence 2011, fig. 1c; courtesy of the author).

The limited significance of painted decoration in Crete is further corroborated by the fact that the Cretan funerary contexts, with or without figurines, have not provided any evidence for the use of pigments. No colouring substances or implements, which in the Cyclades are associated with the preparation, storing and application of paint (*i.e*. palettes, pestles, bone tubes and aryballoi), have been found in the tombs or the cemeteries of Crete. This clearly shows that, unlike the Cyclades, the production and application of paint on figurines and human bodies was not part of the funerary ritual or the Cretan mortuary practices overall.

The above observations may constitute sufficient evidence to suggest differences between Crete and the Cyclades concerning the meaning and the symbolisms of the figurines and the human body, but there is an additional piece of evidence that may support this view, the rendering of the mouth. In the figurines of the Cyclades the mouth was systematically omitted (Papadatos 2003, 280; 2007, 427), perhaps due to the sepulchral symbolism of the figurines (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 53). The few specimens belong mostly to special non-canonical or rare types, such as the Plastiras and the Hunter/Warrior type. Moreover, the mouth is very often absent even when other facial features were rendered by paint, such as eyes, eyebrows or hair (Preziosi and Weinberg 1970; Getz-Preziosi 1987, 104–8). On the contrary, the mouth is more common in the Cycladic-type figurines of Crete. It occurs in many figurines of the locally made Cycladic types and it is particularly common in the Cycladicising types of Trapeza and Siva (Fig. 2.1, 2 and 3). The most characteristic case is the cemetery at Phourni, the site with the largest number of Cycladic-type figurines in Crete, where the mouth is depicted on nine of the 13 figurines with preserved head (Fig. 2.2; Papadatos 2007, 425–9).

Figure 2.2: Cycladic-type figurines with relief mouth from Phourni, Tholos Γ (Copyright of the author).

Moreover, it has been argued that one of the Phourni figurines did not have a mouth originally, but this was formed at a later stage in relief (Fig. 2.3). This modification provided the figurine not only with a new facial feature, but also with new meanings and symbolisms, different from those that may have existed in the Cyclades, where the mouth was deliberately omitted (Papadatos 2003, 278–80; 2007, 427). Moreover, it is interesting to note that in Crete the mouth was rendered by incision or relief, *i.e*. in an irreversible, permanent way, and not with paint, which would be the norm in the Cyclades.

Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to show that comparative analysis of the Cycladic-type figurines from different areas, when taken beyond typological similarities and focusing on the evidence for body modification and painting, allows the identification of regional differences that may have existed. For the Cyclades it was argued that the figurines and the human body constituted a blank canvas onto which people could write, erase and rewrite symbols and messages, through which they could express and negotiate their identity and also represent values, ideas and beliefs of the society in which they lived and died. The evidence for the preparation and application of pigments in the cemeteries shows that such practices were an integral part of the funerary ritual, at least in the cases of high-status and wealthy burials, but the use of paint on figurines and the human body in other occasions during the life cycle of the figurines and the persons that used them is also possible. The situation in Crete seems to be rather different, despite the strong typological similarities between the figurines of the two regions. The figurines of Crete, although typologically similar to or influenced by their Cycladic counterparts, show that such notions were not present in this region. The adoption of similar forms of human body representation in various areas of the Aegean as part of the "International Spirit" phenomenon cannot and does not necessarily postulate similar beliefs concerning the meaning and symbolisms of the human body, the messages depicted on or conveyed by it and the way it was perceived.

Figure 2.3: Cycladic-type figurine with later addition of relief mouth from Phourni, Tholos Γ (Copyright of the author).

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3

Thoughts on the Funerary Use of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) Cycladic Figurines: Iconography, Form, Context and Embodied Lives

Dimitra Goula

Introduction

Painted motifs on Cycladic folded-arm figurines (FAFs hereafter) have been considered as representations of body ornamentation that reflected social identity and status (Broodbank 1992, 543–5; 2000, 247–75; Carter 2008, 120–1; Sherratt 2000, 134; Hoffman 2002, 532–4). This paper aims to formulate some thoughts concerning possible meanings of the FAFs deposited in burial contexts. The study of embodied through consideration of painted patterns on the figurines' surface in most cases make no reference to gender or to the association of specific iconography with the burial context.

Initially, earlier interpretations of the statuettes and approaches to the individual in the Early Bronze Age (EBA) Cyclades are discussed. The painted patterns are examined in association with burial contexts and with reference to gender issues. More specifically, iconographic features on the figurines' surface find parallels in the associated mortuary material culture, that suggest reference to specific motifs for the expression of meaningful concepts. On this basis, the funerary use of the statuettes is interpreted as an integral part of funerary rituals which generated mnemonic experiences. To illustrate my points I use examples of painted motifs, mortuary material culture and burial contexts. In conclusion, gender studies are incorporated in the interpretation of figurines. Moreover, close revision of burial contexts could refine our understanding about the funerary use of the figurines and also set the grounds for accessing embodied lives.

Generalisation and traditional female roles

Folded-arm figurines, which characterise the EBA II (*c*. 2700–2300 BC) Cyclades, belong to the "canonical" types (Renfrew 1969; 1972, 421–6; Thimme 1997, 415–99) according to stylistic (Getz-Preziosi 1985; 1987) and chronological criteria. The vast majority of FAFs have been classified as females. They represent slender human forms, with triangular or lyre-shaped heads which tilt back. Their knees are bent, their feet point down and their arms are folded under small breasts. Usually they bear an engraved pubic triangle (Hoffman 2002, 529). Their surface was also marked with painted details which marked their facial features, such as the eyes and mouth,

hairstyles or jewellery (Hendrix 2003, 416–21). Non-anatomical eyes, grooves, stripes, dots and zigzags on their faces and bodies have been associated with body modification/textualisation (Carter 1994; Joyce 2005, 143–5) (Fig. 3.1:a).

Early interpretations of female FAFs as Goddesses (Doumas 1968, 181; Thimme 1977, 457; Barber 1984, 14), divine protective beings (Doumas 1968, 94; Renfrew 1972, 424; Getz-Preziosi 1985, 11) or concubines (Barber 1987, 131) betray the authors' bias to view female figurines as deities (Meskell 1995, 74–5, 77, 79, 81; Talalay 2005, 133). Moreover, FAFs are interpreted as females of social status or as sexual possessions of high status males transported by ships as part of exogamy and class endogamy (Sherratt 2000, 135–6; Carter 2008, 119). Growing interest in the figurines' painted features (Broodbank 1992, 544–5; 2000, 63–4; Hendrix 1998) has preoccupied current archaeological research of the EBA Cyclades. Facial red stripes have been proposed to mark mourning figures (Hoffman 2002, 525–6, 536–45) in association with EBA Cycladic mortuary material culture including pigments, needles and thin obsidian blades employed in body modification (Carter 1994) as a necessary stage of the funerary ritual (Catapoti 2011, 83–4).

Figure 3.1: Lozenges, grooves and zigzags on EBA II mortuary material culture: a) Figurine from Naxos, Spedos Tomb 14 (after Hendrix 2003, fig. 10; courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens); b) Vessel from Syros (after Tsountas 1899, pl. 8:5); c) Bone tubes and pigment miniature vessels (after Tsountas 1899, pl. 10:2–7); d) Silver "diadem" with zigzag decoration, found close to a disturbed Tomb in Dokathismata, Amorgos (after Tsountas 1898, pl. 8:1).

With reference to gender, some scholars acknowledge the ambiguity of certain FAFs (Hoffman 2002, 529; Mina 2008, 100, fig. 6.35, 111, 118, 123). Ascription or absence of a pubic triangle (Tsountas 1898, pl. 10, nos 1, 2,), male genitalia (Getz-Preziosi 1980, 10, fig. 13) or lack of any genitalia (Getz-Preziosi 1980, fig. 55, 27) are features that often occur on figures. Breasts are either pronounced or flat/absent (Fig. 3.2). Lastly there are figures with both breasts and male genitalia as Mina (2010) has discussed with reference to the hunter-warrior type. Binary separations of male and female fail to explain such figures (Knapp and Meskell 1997, 184, 190–8), but gender theorisation (Knapp 1998; Joyce 2008) and approaches that have developed for the study of ambiguous (Talalay and Cullen 2002; Mina 2008, 100, fig. 6.35, 111, 118, 123) or sexless (Mina 2007) figurines can throw new light on earlier classified female FAFs. Suggested interpretations of spouses or mourners are both plausible and insightful, but they point to traditional female and passive roles (Carter 2007, 99).

Despite earlier interest expressed in the meaning of FAFs, several questions remain unanswered. Given that most of them are decontextualised, documented burials are usually employed either to prove authenticity or to associate figurines with high-status burials. Consequently, specific patterns on a figurine have scarcely been associated with the burial context (Hendrix 2003, 431–6). Alternatively, considering the diversity of patterns and forms that characterise FAFs can help reveal personal identities constituted in social practices and through material expressions. Thus, it is essential to set a theoretical framework that seeks to approach the embodied person as acting in a specific social context in which social identities are constructed and expressed. Folded-arm figurines may then be viewed as part of social practices operating in a burial ritual that was performed – among others perhaps – in order to enhance the memory of the lived person.

Figure 3.2: The figurines found in Tomb 14, Dokathismata, Amorgos (after Renfrew 1972, pl. 30:1, 2).

The individual in the EBA Cyclades

Archaeological theory has been concerned with the concept of the individual and in what terms – if at all – it can be applied with reference to past societies (Shanks and Tilley 1987, 61–75; Meskell 1996; Hodder and Hutson 2003, 6–10, 121–4; Thomas 2004, 119–48). There have been attempts to refine the theoretical approaches regarding the individual in archaeology (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008) and bridge the gap between the "individual" and "collective" (Gillespie 2001) in order to avoid an eventual neglect of personhood, especially in prehistoric societies (Jones 2005). Social context shapes (inter)actions, representations or material culture uses and gives them meaning. Social bodies also shape, display and negotiate multiple identities in and with their social environment. Scholars have increasingly been concerned with expressions of the body and, by overcoming a preoccupation with surface treatment, have attempted to trace embodied individuals (Meskell 1996, 11; Knapp and Meskell 1997; Meskell and

Joyce 2003) and their relations in society (Joyce 2005, 142).

Archaeology of the EBA Cyclades referred to the individual at quite an early stage (Renfrew 1972, 371–83, 496–500; Doumas 1987, 17–8) through various approaches. One of the references to individuals has been the quest for the sculptor's hand (Getz-Preziosi 1987), although attribution studies can be used beyond the naming of the hand in order to refine our understanding of the products of individuals (Morris 1993, 41–2). The visibility of the individual in single inhumations (Doumas 1977, 52–68; Cosmopoulos 1995, 24–7) is usually associated with emerging elites and the contrast between rich and poor burials. According to Broodbank (2000, 174), the limited size of Cycladic settlements favoured the emergence of individual actors. With reference to anthropomorphic figurines, the painted patterns have been approached as signs of individual and family/group identities, or as initiation marks related to the life cycle (Hendrix 2003, 443–4). Other interpretations have proposed that evidence of redrawing on figures may have represented a painted biography (Papadatos 2003). The procurement, ownership and manipulation of exotic raw materials are also suggested to have contributed to the creation of the social person in the EBA Cyclades (Carter 2008, 123). Recently, Catapoti (2011) discussed corporeality and somatisation from a theoretical perspective with reference to the archaeology of the EBA Cyclades.

The above mentioned corpus of studies shows an interest in the individual, yet it seems that we should go further in order to access embodied lives. Jones (2005, 199) feels that it is insufficient to simply "read" different orders of personhood from biological and material remains and suggests instead to focus on the way in which persons are generated and performed. Interest in painted features of the statuettes (Gill and Chippindale 1993, 656; Hendrix 1998; Papadatos 2003, 284) has ultimately neglected the figures' forms perhaps because their striking painted patterns make differentiation evident. The figurines' form is usually juxtaposed with the painted features in order to contrast and highlight the resemblance of forms against the individuality of painted details. Consequently the figurine itself is at risk of being considered as an empty surface that bears no other meaning. I propose instead that we could start perceiving figurines as meaningful concepts composed of form and iconography, and explore how they relate to the social, cultural and recovery contexts.

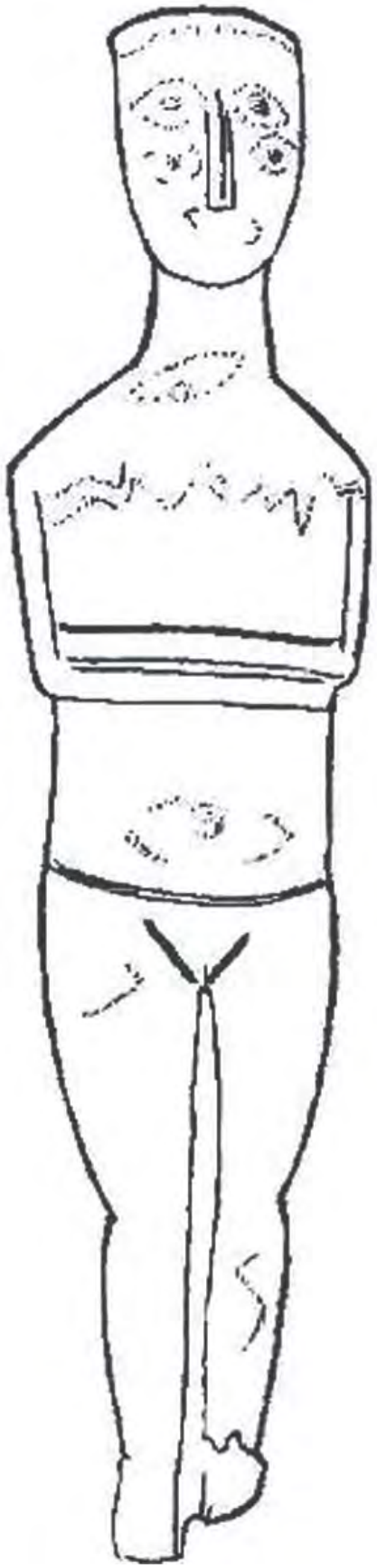

Figure 3.3: Zigzag line and non-anatomical eyes on a folded-arm figurine (after Hendrix 2003, fig. 8; courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens).

Meaningful patterns, form and material culture

An attempt to understand possible embodied identities represented by FAFs includes consideration of the following aspects: affinities between painted patterns and material culture, represented sexual/gender features, contextual associations of form and patterns, and by extension, the funerary ritual.

Starting with the painted patterns, lozenges, parallel lines, grooves and zigzags are motifs used both on figurines and for the decoration of Early Cycladic II (EC II hereafter) mortuary material culture, such as pottery and bone tubes (Figs 3.1:a–c, 3.3, 3.4). Decoration styles indicate cultural or spatial interconnections, but social relations may also be encapsulated by this relationship (Jones 2010, 340). For instance, Jones (2010) approaches burials from EBA Scotland by comparing decoration similarities between pottery vessels and metal artifacts. Iconographical similarities may be seen as material expressions of meanings that interlink burial offerings in a context. Evidence for decorated pottery occurring almost exclusively in Cycladic burials, in contrast with settlements where coarse pottery dominates (Doumas 1977, 62), could suggest that decoration on material culture was in some way important in the concept and performance of EC II burial customs.

The engraved pubic triangle appears very similar both on "frying-pans" and FAFs leading to an association between long range navigation and biological reproduction or sexual gratification (Broodbank 2000, 249–53; Sherratt 2000, 197–200). Nonetheless, not all "frying-pans" that bear pubic triangles also depict ships. These iconographical variations are unlikely to be random. Thus, whenever a pubic triangle, a ship or both were present on a vessel, iconography possibly expressed a different meaning. On the other hand, as noted above, not all FAFs bear a pubic triangle, even if they are modelled with breasts. Instead, pubic triangles appear on some "frying-pans" possibly in order to accentuate an aspect related to femininity. Typical iconography on "frying-pans", such as wave spirals, ships and celestial bodies, may allude to maritime travelling, watchers of celestial bodies for purposes of orientation, or knowledge of different stages of ship building or navigation. Furthermore, one could wonder whether the explicit ascription of the pubic triangle on figurines, juxtaposed with those that do not bear it, could be seen as a differentiation of forms and not as a mere stylistic variation. One example of a "frying-pan" marked with spiral waves and an incised pubic triangle was found in the same context with two FAFs in Tomb 307 in Chalandriani, Syros (Tsountas 1899, 111; Hekman 2003, 226, 343). If we assume that the two figurines were placed in the tomb as embodied representations of the buried individual, then the "frying-pan" would serve to express this concept. There is no solid evidence that "frying-pans" were associated with male burials in Chalandriani, as is the case in the cemetery of Manika, Euboea (Hekman 2003, 173). Consequently, the pubic triangle on the vessel could not necessarily indicate a sexual possession. It could refer to an actual woman or a female aspect/role of an actual person. In any case, the context of Tomb 307 reveals a connection between figurines associated with a "frying-pan" and the pubic triangle.

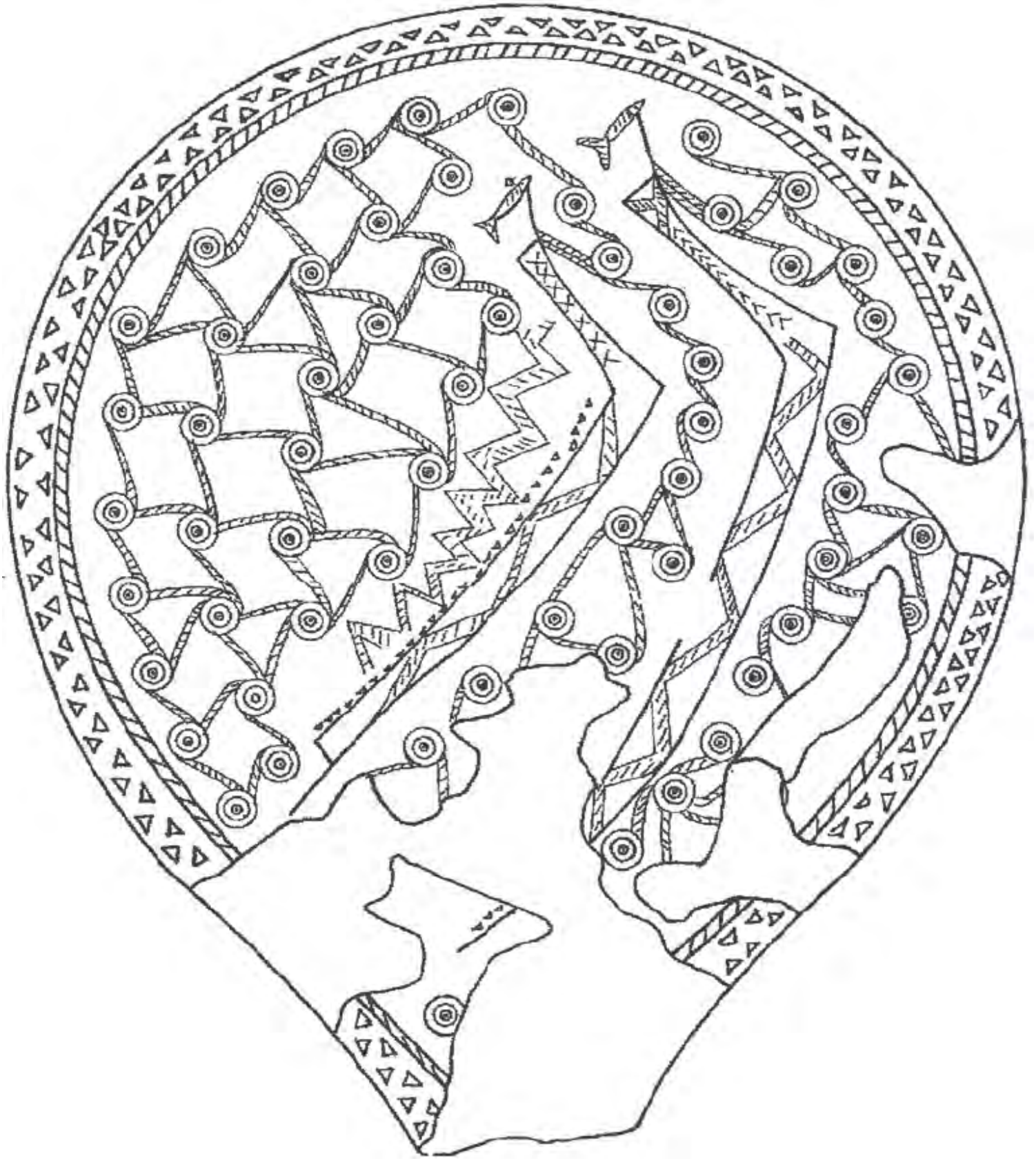

Figure 3.4: Zigzag line on two ship representations on a "frying-pan" vessel (after Hekman 2003, fig. 68, Tomb 364, no. 372).

The zigzag line appears usually on the chest and abdomen of figurines (Figs 3.1:a and 3.3). A similar decorative pattern appears on two ship representations on a "frying-pan" (Tsountas 1899, 90–1) (Fig. 3.4). Although the figurine depicted in Figure 3.3 is said to come from Naxos and the "frying-pan" (Fig. 3.4) was found in Syros, there are some observations that deserve to be mentioned. Differences in the social context among Cycladic islands are very likely to have existed, but there are commonalities in material culture and its uses that imply intense interaction between the islands (Broodbank 2000, 211–46). Although one could certainly claim that the limited occurrences of shared motifs across figurines and "frying-pans" are not sufficient to establish a well-grounded

association, the inscription of pubic triangles on some "frying-pans" favours a possible connection between the two forms of material culture. Moreover, the shared zigzag motif appearing both on figurines and ship representations could also be interpreted as a pattern associated with ships. Motif repetition points towards a conscious use of specific motifs in order to reproduce a meaningful concept which was commonly understood by people in the same or intensely interacting social context(s). Unfortunately, the extent of destruction of Cycladic burial contexts limits the degree to which we can explore fully this possibility.

Repeated representation of eyes across the whole surface of FAFs indicates that these people perceived multiple dimensions of their body. Hendrix (2003, 425–31) has discussed this feature extensively and mentions one jug from Panormos, Naxos, which bears an incised eye (Hendrix 2003, 431, fig. 16a). A clay boat model from Melos has also been proposed to include eyes in its decorative synthesis (Hendrix 2003, 431, fig. 16a), although in this case the allegation seems less certain. Hekman (2003, 210–1) describes the motif found on the interior of the base of a footed cup from Tomb 196 in Chalandriani as an irregular circle with a dot. Possibly this feature could also be representing an eye, or at least it resembles one (Hekman 2003, 333, fig. 49, Tomb 196, no. 72). The placement of the motif on the inside of the base, thus out of view, seems an interesting feature which could imply the use of the pattern for its meaning and not for display. The possible representation of eyes on pottery could thus be interpreted as expressing a connection between pottery and figurine iconography.

Other interpretations of painted patterns on figurines, and by extension persons, have proposed that they may have represented marks of embodied labour (Catapoti 2011, 85). Carter (2008, 123) has suggested that cinnabar used for the production of the red pigment employed in the Cyclades was a valuable sought-after material, not easy to process. I would propose, therefore, that the painting/modification of bodies may have been practiced by specialised persons.

Consideration of gender and context may also offer alternative interpretations, as illustrated by the well-known example of Tomb 14 at Dokathismata in Amorgos (Tsountas 1898, 154). The two figurines recovered from this context have been described as females (Tsountas 1898, 154), despite the smaller one having no breasts, but rather engraved nipples (Fig. 3.2: top row, right). Furthermore the pubic triangle of the smaller figurine is not as explicit as in the larger one. The larger figurine preserves painted vertical red stripes on the chest. Similar vertical red stripes (Hendrix 2003, 423) appear also clearly on the chest of the figurine no. 33 of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971, 1972.118.103) with oversized breasts and male genitalia (Getz-Preziosi 1980, 27, figs 58–60; Hendrix 1998, 8–9). How is this specific painted pattern associated with the figurine's form and the weaponry found in the burial context and why is it also used on another figure with prominent gendered aspects? The two figurines of Tomb 14 may represent different age/gender aspects of the same body. This is more evident in the sexually ambiguous figure mentioned above with red stripes on the chest that seems to represent an embodied shift between genders, possibly as a way to negotiate social identities. This short example demonstrates that biological sex proves inadequate to fully explain all expressions of figurine forms. Furthermore, iconography, form and context may provide additional evidence of social structures and social bodies in the EBA Cyclades.

Moving on to the funerary use of FAFs, archeological theory has proposed an experiential approach for the understanding of burial rituals (Hamilakis 1998, 117). Drink consumption, treatment of the dead and the living body and body representation are interrelated (Boyd 2002, 138; Joyce 2005, 151). Drink consumption on platforms adjacent to the cemeteries (Hamilakis 1998, 120), ceremonial production and use of obsidian blades (Carter 2007, 100–2) are evidence that supports the practice of burial rituals in the EBA II Cyclades. The actions performed by the living on the deceased, such as the arrangement of the body, the placement of a stone as a pillow, and the use of stones to signal the location of the tomb indicate that "the dead should not been forgotten" (Doumas 1987, 17). Ornamentation of the dead or the living bodies implies an action that would generate a powerful mnemonic experience (Catapoti 2011, 84). Clustering of the graves also suggests that burials were arranged according to social ties. In the funerary context figurines may not have represented a single embodied entity, but may have formed an integral part of the burial ritual in connection with the associated material culture. For instance, the painted figurine would have come into action along with the decorated cup used in drink consumption. If the painted patterns and figurines' forms represented marks of life events or aspects of identity of the deceased, the associated material culture may have also represented aspects of this life. Consequently, affinities between motifs may hold information about social bodies and their actions, which included the production, the uses, the meanings of material culture and

the relationships that were possibly expressed through motif reproduction.

The above are only brief examples of an approach that seeks to examine the figurines in terms of painted motifs, forms and contexts. Apart from the lack of skeletal remains and the disturbed contexts there are difficulties in identifying figurines that preserve painted patterns, but also come from secure contexts. Nonetheless, this short paper could set the grounds for a more thorough and extensive investigation of the above mentioned associations.

Conclusion

Archaeologies of embodiment allow access to perceptions of social identities as shaped in society, but also as differentiated through personal experience and even choice. An attempt was made to perceive the FAFs as bearing meanings composed by painted motifs and forms and as an integral part of burial contexts and rituals. In order to do so, it was essential to examine affinities between painted details and the associated mortuary material culture, and also demonstrate that the overlooked forms of the figurines are in fact equally diverse and complex. They should not, therefore, be confined solely to stylistic analyses. Differentiations or affinities between the figurines' painted patterns and the associated material culture, as well as the figurines' forms and gender aspects may prove helpful in narrowing down general interpretations, allowing perhaps the visibility of individual lives. Furthermore, issues such as who practiced modifications on the bodies remain valid questions. In any case, all these aspects demonstrate that in social contexts of the EBA Cyclades expressions of embodied identities may be traceable through tangible evidence provided by material culture. Finally, situating painted Cycladic figurines within their specific contexts forms an essential element for accessing embodied lives.

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4

Composite, Partial, Created and Floating Bodies: a Re-Assessment of the Knossos Temple Repositories Assemblage

Fay Stevens and Anna Simandiraki-Grimshaw

Introduction

This paper operates within the framework of the Cretan Bronze Age (*c*. 3000–1100 BC) and focuses on a category of complex buildings dating mainly *c*. 1900–1430 BC. We use the term "Palaces" for the sake of continuity, although we are mindful that it does not automatically imply (only) a royal residence (cf. Hood 1995; Day and Relaki 2002; Schoep 2010). We also use the term "Minoan" to refer to the Cretan Bronze Age, again for the sake of consistency, although we are aware that this also invites analysis/deconstruction (cf. Karadimas and Momigliano 2004; Whitley 2006). We are particularly concerned with the Middle Minoan III period (*c*. 1700–1600 BC, MMIII henceforth), which represents the end of the transition between the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods of Crete. We focus on artefacts from the Minoan Palace of Knossos (Evans 1935a, plan after p. xxv).

While excavating a small room at the West Wing of the Palace of Knossos in May 1903 (Evans 1902–3; DM/DB 28–30 May 1903;[1] Panagiotaki 1993; 1999; Hatzaki 2009), Mackenzie and Evans discovered two similar cists. These were named by Evans "Temple Repositories" (TRs henceforth; cf. Evans 1943, 346; Horwitz 1981, 154–5; Goodison and Morris 1998, 123–5; Lapatin 2002, 60ff.): the East Temple Repository (ETR henceforth) and the West Temple Repository (WTR henceforth). The TRs possibly date from MMIII (cf. Panagiotaki 1999, 151 and Hatzaki 2007, 173 for a possible LMIA date).

When combining several accounts (Evans 1902–3, 40ff.; DM/DB 28–30 May 1903; Evans 1921, 466ff., fig. 335; Panagiotaki 1993, 52–3 and 1999, 72–3, 97; Hatzaki 2009, 20–5), it becomes apparent that the stratigraphy of these cists was similar, but their contents different. As we have described elsewhere (Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens 2013; also see Evans 1902–3, 40; DM/DB 28–30 May 1903, 86–90; 1921, 466; Panagiotaki 1999, 72–3 and fn. 18–25; Hatzaki 2009, 20–5, table 2.1), the upper layer comprised red earth. The middle layer, of darker soil mixed with rubble and charred wood, contained fragments of gold foil and several closely packed, sizeable Middle Minoan vessels (some imported). The third layer, of "fatter and more compact" earth without pottery, contained "prestige" artefacts, mostly in one of the cists. These artefacts were made of precious metals, faience and stone. There were also flora (*e.g.* carbonised grain) and fauna (*e.g.* a weasel skull), including seafood (*e.g.* fish bones).

Our focus here is on the artefacts included in two black and white photographs that are first referred to by Evans as the Temple Repositories Assemblage (TRA)[2]. The first (Fig. 4.1), taken in 1903, was published by Evans in

1903 (1902–3, 92, fig. 63). The second photograph (Fig. 4.2), an altered version of the previous one, was published by Evans in the first volume of the *Palace of Minos* (1921, 518, fig. 377). These two well known images of the TRA belong to a series of intervening photographs, which we explore elsewhere (cf. Stevens and Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2009; forthcoming). For this paper, we focus on the cultural biography of the lesser known human forms in the TRA and the way they were photographically positioned by Evans. We do this so as to consider how such depictions were metaphorically and literally shaped by his early modern conceptualisations of the human body and Minoan corporeality, and, in turn, how Evans's viewpoint has coloured the relevant scholarship. McEnroe, for example, comments how in writing the *Palace of Minos* and the major period of reconstruction at Knossos (dated during 1928–1930), Evans turned from observation and description to creation (McEnroe 1995, 11, 14). Moreover, Horwitz notes that below the conventional exterior of the habits and class of his times, there "flourished a luxuriant imagination, a love for adventure….and a flair for the dramatic, a taste for grand living, and a talent for avoiding the banal" (1981, 6).

Figure 4.1 "Shrine of snake goddess with marble cross as central cult object. Conjectural arrangement": Evans 1902–3, 92, fig. 63 (photograph reproduced by permission of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).

Figure 4.2: "Group above altar-ledge of shrine of snake goddess as tentatively arranged": Evans 1921, 518, fig. 377 (photograph reproduced by permission of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford).

Given the above, we are mindful that visual representation is never innocent and has inherent biases (*e.g.* Barthes 1981; Mitchell 1996; Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens 2009), both general and in the case of the TRA. Moreover, the relationship between archaeology and photography has its own historical, social and contextual concerns (Edwards 2006; Bohrer 2011) and photographs provide real histories of information for reading certain aspects of antiquity (Papadopoulos 2005b, 110). Consequently, photographs reveal as much about the photographers' sensibilities and the social milieu in which their aesthetic and scientific responses were shaped, as they do about antiquity itself (Lyons *et al*. 2005, ix), or any other period of time. Photography is, in this case, an agent of preservation and restitution – a means to salvage and forever hold objects that are in danger of being lost (Bohrer 2011, 28). We consider that Evans's use of photography created new histories and visual declarations regarding embodiment and identity through the process of reconstruction, positioning and bodily "wholeness". As such, our discussion on the TR photographs engages with the social and cultural identity of these corporeal artefacts, considers the possible reasons behind Evans's portrayal of the TRA and evaluates how this has embodied a particular presentation and understanding of Cretan Bronze Age archaeology.

Deconstruction: "recovering" the temple repositories human forms

Overall, 13 human depictions in varying fragmented states (Panagiotaki 1999, 97) were recovered from both TRs. Another "body" is alluded to by Evans, which we will discuss in due course. Most human depictions were found in the ETR (Panagiotaki 1999, 73, fn. 23, 24; 97, fn. 194; Hatzaki 2009, 24, table 2.1). Although the so-called "Big Snake Goddess" and the so-called "Votary"/"Small Snake Goddess" raise issues with regard to their original "wholeness", we are not going to expand on these further here (see Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens 2013). The rest of the figurative "forms" in the TRA, which have been overlooked, are the focus of our attention here. This is because we consider that the TRA is, ironically, incomplete without them in many respects. We propose that they offer us a wealth of information with regard to how the assemblage was comprised and what it potentially signified.

The dataset for this paper includes a human form or votive robe which represents the lower part of a body

from the high waist downwards, just above what has been described by Evans as a girdle (Panagiotaki 1993, 57; 1999, 98, no. 212; figs 1 and 2, standing behind the "votary" or small "goddess", on the right). It was found in the ETR (Evans 1902–3, 78; Panagiotaki 1999, 100), but it is unclear in how many fragments (two or three?). We also include four human forms which depict "stray" arms and/or hands (Panagiotaki 1999, 98, 101, nos 213–6; illustrated in figs 1 and 2 in front and to the left of the small "goddess"). These were also found in the ETR. All these fragments could be made up into three-dimensional bodies that can be viewed from a 360° perspective and which may be clothed/unclothed/partly clothed, as well as deliberately partial (*e.g.* detachable, see below).

The other types of bodies we examine here include three pieces of attire that are approximately the size of comparable figurines (*c.* 23 cm). They are known as "votive robes" (Evans 1902–3, 81ff.; Panagiotaki 1993, 59–61, fig. D; Panagiotaki 1999, nos 217–9, 101–3, fig. 27, pl. 16f; figs 1 and 2 include two of these, above and behind each "goddess"). They depict low relief, articulated attire, without any recognisable human anatomy. Three further fragmented artefacts come from the ETR (Panagiotaki 1999, nos 220–2; figs 1 and 2, each placed at the feet of each "goddess"). They make no reference to body parts or body shape. It is generally thought that that they were meant as representations of girdles, as suggested by Evans. We nevertheless include these in our list of human forms by association with "filled" attire. Finally, a marble "cross" (Evans 1902–3, 90: "an actual cross of fine veined marble and of orthodox Greek shape") is placed upright and located in the centre of the photographic images. We include this artefact asserting that it may act as a bodily metaphor.

Reconstruction: evaluating the temple repositories bodies

Our hypothesis is that Evans was interacting with varying bodily representations in a way that would support his overarching thesis on Minoan societies (we believe that Bronze Age Crete was not the locus of a homogeneous, singular society). It appears that Evans was constructing composite bodies by piecing some human forms together and at times fashioning new body parts, creating new types of bodies and entities. More specifically, from a Minoan perspective, partiality, headlessness and the appearance of floating bodies seem to be recurring themes of these "bodies" and indicate a continuing tension between a phenomenological symmetry and an actual asymmetry (cf. Stevens 2007). For example, we encounter three types of corporal renditions:

1. three-dimensional bodies that can be viewed from a 360° perspective that reference detailed, bare human anatomy,
2. low relief articulated attire, "robes", each filled by a presumed body underneath the "fabric", but exhibiting no recognisable human anatomy,
3. part of a person's attire ("girdles"), but no reference to body parts or body shape.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that some of the TR artefacts were made in the Minoan period as bodies that were deliberately partial and were either intended to be attached to other body parts, or functioned as self-contained body parts. For example, two of the "Goddesses" have detachable arms and perhaps an interchangeable head, while there are also a number of "odd" (*i.e.* non-matching) arms (cf. Panagiotaki 1999, 98, 101). Moreover, the "robes" are depictions of partial bodies. It has been suggested that the lack of breasts may render at least one of these "robes" empty, and that breasts would only be shown in combination with a filling body (Alberti 2001, 200). Instead, we assert that these artefacts do infer a body, itself not being depicted, inhabiting the robe (*contra* Alberti 2001, 200) and that the lack of breasts may indicate age – this cleavage is almost identical to those of the (later?) young "Saffron Gatherers" from Thera (cf. Marinatos 1993, 205ff.). In addition, these garments do not "hang", as real-life tailored garments would, but instead represent a filled garment *e.g.* with tight, slightly rounded waists, as if the material is draped around a torso. This implies a Minoan interest in corporeal separation, hybridity (cf. Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2010) and interchangeability and a sense of the body as somehow constructed from constituent parts and fluid with regard to its identity.

A special point of interest here is headlessness. Even though the "robes" were meant to depict "complete" garments, they were specifically not intended to have heads. We may offer two intriguing potential explanations, at least for this example, where the deliberate headlessness from the outset is obvious: a) they originally formed part of

a depiction which featured human beings with aniconic heads (cf. Morris 2001, esp. 245; Kyriakides 2004); b) they are consistent with a pattern of human bodies without heads from the archaeological context of the TRs, complemented by the headlessness of all other human forms, including the broken head of the "Big Snake Goddess" and the non existence of the head of the other two "Goddesses". There are other examples whereby headlessness or facelessness is a feature of corporeal concepts and fragmentation, if not structured deposition (*e.g.* the missing face of the Palaikastro Kouros, MacGillivray *et al*. 2000; cf. Branigan 1987, 48–9). These issues are archaeologically significant, attesting to complex processes of aniconicity, fragmentation and structured deposition (Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens 2013; cf. Rehak 1995, esp. 441–3 and 451–4; Whitley 2009). Another aspect of the TR human forms concerns their "floating" subtext. In the original TR deposits, there is an element of fragmentation, as well as an element of interchangeability of limbs, as explained above. There are more arms that can slot into bodies than there are bodies/sockets to receive them. This, coupled with the headlessness just described, may point to an original intention to represent these forms as "floating" limbs, *i.e*. not attached to (or composing) integral, whole bodies.

Having explored the possible connotations of the fragments themselves, a closer analysis of the TR fragments by Evans helps toward an understanding of them within a contemporary context. Evans stated that his arrangement of the TRA in the relevant photographs was "conjectural" (Evans 1902–3, 92, fig. 63) and "tentative" (Evans 1921, 518, fig. 377) and that he based it on the later *Shrine of the Double Axes* (Evans 1921, 517). Even so, what we observe is his desire to highlight corporeal partiality in some instances (robes, girdles, "stray" arms and/or hands), while articulating a sense of bodily "wholeness" in others, specifically in his reconstruction and depiction of the "Snake Goddesses". He was more intent on (re)creating *whole* and rather more fixed bodies. Therefore, we argue that there is deliberate intervention in the reconstruction of the composite "Goddesses": these now became solid, static, progressively complete bodies, their newfound "wholeness" accentuated by the partiality of the rest of the TR bodies (*e.g.* third "Goddess", "robes" etc).

The Minoan preoccupation with headless human bodies was also subverted by Evans, who significantly altered the photographic representation of two bodies in particular. In the case of the small "Snake Goddess", it is apparent that he painted in a head onto the photographic slide (Stevens and Simandiraki-Grimshaw 2009; forthcoming). In the instance of the "Big Snake Goddess", he stuck on a three-dimensional head that was deposited as separate from the body in the TRs (Simandiraki-Grimshaw and Stevens 2013). It also seems that Evans's intention was to explain away or categorise the other, "incomplete" forms, placed in the periphery of the TRA photographs. Furthermore, Evans interpreted the "floating" subtext of spare, aniconic limbs as the outcome of artefact loss after destruction and sweeping, despite Minoan parallels of limb-only representations known to him (*e.g.* artefacts from the peak sanctuary of Petsophas, Myres 1903, pl. xii). He then proceeded to invest these forms with his own "floating" subtext, mostly as hovering, whole bodies. At the same time, he also fixed their position as against a wall, above others artefacts.

Why did Evans choose to represent these forms as floating? One possibility is that their "floating" state enforced his reconstruction of the "goddesses", *i.e*. juxtaposing

- partial *vs* incomplete/floating bodies,
- composite and created *vs* complete/grounded bodies.

Practical reasons may have also necessitated parts of Evans's "conjectural arrangement" (Evans 1902–3, 92, fig. 63). The "robes" have narrow bases, they cannot stand on their own, and are perforated, *i.e*. they can potentially be threaded and suspended. The perforations point to a possible corporeal interplay in that they suggest the hanging of the robes, perhaps worn about an actual body by means of string or twine (cf. Meskell 2007, 143). There is no indication of how the "girdles" would be positioned, so Evans placed them close to "worn" ones. Another possibility is that, whether consciously or subconsciously, he was trying to convey the idea of epiphanic or descending bodies *vs* earthly or already present/materialised bodies.

In order to understand the archaeological transformation of the TR bodies, we also need to consider the marble cross in the composition of the photographic images. This was partly restored (Evans 1902–3, 90ff., fig. 62; 1921, 517, fig. 376; Panagiotaki 1999, 173, no. 296), placed upright, raised and positioned in the centre of the image. The

three reconstructed (Lapatin 2002, 75–6; Papadopoulos 2005a, 123, fig. 14; Hatzaki 2009, fig. 2.2), free-standing, three-dimensional human forms are positioned close to and on either side of this "cross". There is little archaeological justification for the upright, central position of this "cross", despite Evans's parallelisms with swastikas, sacral horns and double axes (Evans 1902–3, 90–1). Nevertheless, he saw this as a "natural parallelism" to a cult object and made a strong visual argument for the (Christian?) sanctity of the assemblage (see Evans 1902–3, 91, 93). That said, the "cross" could be interpreted as alluding to another body, that of Christ. This is unsurprising, given Evans's milieu. For example, the proliferation of Mother-Goddess theories as interpretative devices for prehistoric female figurines (Lapatin 2002; also see McEnroe 1995), as well as the more general 19th century "Marian cult" (Morris 2006), were just some of the influences that helped form Evans's agenda of Minoan religion as anticipating some aspects of Christianity (Evans 1936, 7; cf. Horwitz 1981, 155; MacGillivray 2000, 301–2; Lapatin 2002, 72, 76).[3] Evans was convinced that the human forms "must be images of a prehistoric Great Goddess, at once Virgin and Mother", which Hutton recognises as Evans's pseudo-Christianisation of the TRA and the prehistoric past (Hutton 1997, 93). Consequently, the partial bodies ("girdles" and arm) and floating bodies (suspended "robes") surround and frame the most complete bodies of the image (the reconstructed "Goddesses"), which, in turn, surround the alluded body of the "divine" (rendered as an object of worship, Evans 1902–3, 93). From these observations, we believe that the self-confessed "conjectural arrangement" of Evans's image (Evans 1902–3, 92, fig. 63) to some extent shapes and conditions our visual interaction with and understanding of the identities embodied in the TR assemblage.

Conclusions

Embodiment is an expression (or a process) of giving a tangible, visible or physical form to an idea, quality, feeling or spirit. We have highlighted here that the rendition and treatment of the human body in the TRs physically expressed particular corporeal ideas. We explored the detachability and partiality of several of the represented "bodies" (*e.g.* arms), highlighted that the aniconicity or absence of human heads in the TRs may reflect a specific subtext detectable in other contemporary Minoan parallels and drew attention to the two- or three-dimensionality of embodied representations, *e.g.* the relatively unfilled nature of the "headless" bodies *vs* the substantially "filled" bodies of the "Snake Goddesses". Furthermore, we believe that the partial, composite and created bodily representations, often overlooked, are significant when approaching an understanding of the TRA. We have also suggested that the embodiment of the people/divinities/entities or ideas represented by these artefacts was intended as fluid/unfixed, partial and interchangeable.

We have argued that, in Evans's reconstruction, positioning and depiction of the TR artefacts, embodiment (as process and idea) was also the philosophical medium through which he articulated his interpretations of Minoan societies. Furthermore, the TR human forms occupied and punctuated space, through their 360° projection, but also their simultaneous presence within different spaces when fragmented and dispersed. They were not static, but mobile and potentially shifting entities, which, malleable through constitution-fragmentation-reconstitution, displayed an inherent range of possibilities for change and narrative (cf. Meskell 2007, 148). But the human body in Evans's photographic interpretations became a performative medium: he took the two TR deposits and reconstructed them into a single and unified TRA whole, in effect reinterpreting their context; he emphasised the Minoan body as whole, complete and centred and, in doing so, he altered the artefacts' embodied identities. But this process of body reconstruction is the outcome of Evans's corporeal conceptualisation and not an accurate representation of the bodies as deposited in the TRs. We can, therefore, see that photography was utilised by Evans as a method of scientific recording of the TR objects, but also as a method of reconstructing a Minoan past that is focused on adult femalenesss and corporeal metaphors of partiality and completeness. Moreover, it facilitated the visual establishment of an arrangement of artefacts that supported his ideas about the spirituality of Minoan societies.

In summary, we have attempted to show that there is/was a difference between the embodied identities detectable in the TR artefacts and Evans's re-interpretation (or even re-construction) of those identities in line with his own sensitivities and milieu. We argue that this continues to impact on our own archaeological understanding of the material and we look forward to continuing our exploration of Evans's work and the rich cultural history of

Minoan societies.

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Notes

1 DM/DB = Mackenzie D. 1903, *Knossos Excavation Daybook*, 28–30 May 1903, 86–91. Also see Momigliano 1999, esp. chap. 3; Panagiotaki 1999.

2 We have consulted printed versions of the images, not the original negative images. This is because it appears that Evans did not modify the negatives but did occasionally tamper with the content of some photos by drawing and/or sticking elements on them (Yiannis Galanakis pers. comm.; German 2005).

3 As Evans put it, "It is not strange, therefore, that the form of Christian belief that we still see to-day throughout the Mediterranean should find some interesting anticipations to that of Minoan Crete" (Evans 1936, 7; he goes on to interpret figures on a seal as "Magi" and "a true Madonna" in a scene of "adoration of Mother and Child").

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5

Figurines and Complex Identities in Late Bronze Age Cyprus

Daisy Knox

Figurines provide enticing images through which to imagine otherwise remote and faceless prehistoric communities. Early examples from Cyprus feature recurrently on the covers of monographs, excavation reports and conference posters (*e.g.* Coleman *et al.* 1996; Tatton-Brown 1997; Knapp 2008); a Chalcolithic figurine was even deemed an apposite image for the one euro coin. Although for modern audiences, figurines have become convenient symbols, embodying and displaying Cyprus's past identities, researchers are well aware that these complex objects encompass far more than simply passive reflections of past realities. Prehistoric figurines were symbolically-charged objects with clear, active roles in shaping the socio-political landscape in which they were made and used. It is my contention, therefore, that for Cyprus's Bronze Age communities too, the use of figurines was intimately connected to the expression of a complex range of identities and group affiliations. This paper will combine detailed contextual and iconographic investigations of anthropomorphic figurines to explore that hypothesis in a Late Cypriot (LC) (1650–1050 BC) context. It will consider not only some of the criteria on which these identities may have been established, but also how they may have been practically and physically embodied by both figurines and LC people themselves.

Anthropomorphic imagery in this period was dominated by two distinct types, referred to here as Earring figurines (Fig. 5.1a) and Flathead figurines (Fig. 5.1b) (cf. Webb 1999, 209–10). It is commonly held that Earring figurines were introduced during the 15th century and flatheads during the 13th century BC with the types overlapping only briefly in LC IIC (1340/1315–1200 BC) (Courtois 1984, 78–80; Webb 1999, 209–10; Karageorghis 2006). However, thorough investigation of all examples originating in dateable contexts establishes that Earring and Flathead figurines were most probably completely contemporary. The earliest examples of both come from LC IIA (1450–1375 BC) contexts at Katydhata, Tomb 100 (Åström 1989, 56), for example, and Cypriot Tomb 19 and Area III, Level IIB at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–71, 253, 411). Both types continue in use until at least the end of LC IIIA (1200–1100 BC) and were therefore used together for about 400 years. Recognising this contemporaneity raises important questions about the functional and symbolic relationship between these two similar yet distinct figurine types.

Flathead and Earring figurines survive in strikingly similar numbers with 111 and 112 known examples respectively. Both are similar in size, appearing in a hollow version of approximately 20 cm in length and a smaller, solid version, an average of 14 cm long. Both represent naked females with relief cone breasts and decorated pubic triangles, yet each type emphasises different characteristics. Flatheads display their eponymous feature as well as

unusual pinched ears and painted or modelled hair curls. Although some refer to Earring figurines as "bird-faced" (*e.g.* Webb 1999, 209; Knapp 2008, 175–7), their squashed features were probably the result of their exaggerated, pierced ears, rather than any deliberate attempt to appear ornithomorphic. Both figurine types are undecorated at the back and have small, pointed feet which would not have supported them standing upright. This suggests that the figurines themselves were probably intended to lie supine or be carried in the hand, facing outwards. Further, the subject represented by both may well have been conceived as lying down, as befitting a venerated ancestor, floating as a deity or, perhaps, a combination of the two.

Earring and Flathead figurines never appear as massive display pieces or in dedicated ritual space, yet their contexts suggest that they played a visible, active role in the display of individual or group identities. Both types occur in tombs and settlements in roughly equal proportions (37 Flathead figurines were found in tombs, 32 in settlements and 7 in uncertain contexts; 24 Earring figurines were found in tombs, 18 in settlements and 17 in uncertain contexts). Within settlements, both types are most commonly found between floors in layers of fill. Just 14 come from primary contexts, nine of which, including Room 77 in Enkomi's Area III (Dikaios 1969–71, 240, 636) or Room 8, House A, Apliki-*Karamallos* (Kling and Muhly 2007, 210), were identified by their excavators as areas of small-scale industrial activity, including copper processing. Such contexts are often open-air, on the edges of buildings and are likely to have been public or semi-public space. Both figurine types, therefore, may have been used in these areas by those involved in manufacturing activities.

Figure 5.1: a) Earring Figurine, Hala Sultan Tekke, Tomb 2.3 (Larnaca Museum, photograph by author; courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus); b) Flathead Figurine, Angastina-Vounos, Tomb 3.15 (Cyprus Museum, photograph by author; courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

Furthermore, the presence of Earring and Flathead figurines in burials indicates a visible role in this important public ritual (Keswani 2004, 33–35, 140–45). Crucially, Earring and Flathead figurines, and indeed other contemporary figurine forms, are almost never found together in the same tomb. Of the 96 LC tombs in which figurines have been discovered (out of a total of 187 contemporary tombs known: Keswani 2004, tables 5.8, 5.9a–d, 5.11, 5.13), 70 contained only one distinct type. This follows an established Bronze Age Cypriot tradition of using figurines in tombs, not as part of a standard burial complement, but as a deliberate choice through which to demonstrate publically the identities or allegiances of the deceased (cf. Knox 2013, 53–5).

Earring and Flathead figurines are relatively evenly distributed across the island and most of the larger, better known sites have examples of both (Fig. 5.2). This geographical homogeneity is a significant departure from earlier periods when regional clustering of local figurine styles is manifest (Knox 2012, 159; 2013 50–2). On the surface it suggests that the separate groups who used Earring and Flathead figurines were not defined by any connection to a particular site or area of the island. The mechanisms behind this distribution, however, suggest a more complex picture, emblematic of the LC socio-political environment in which they were made.

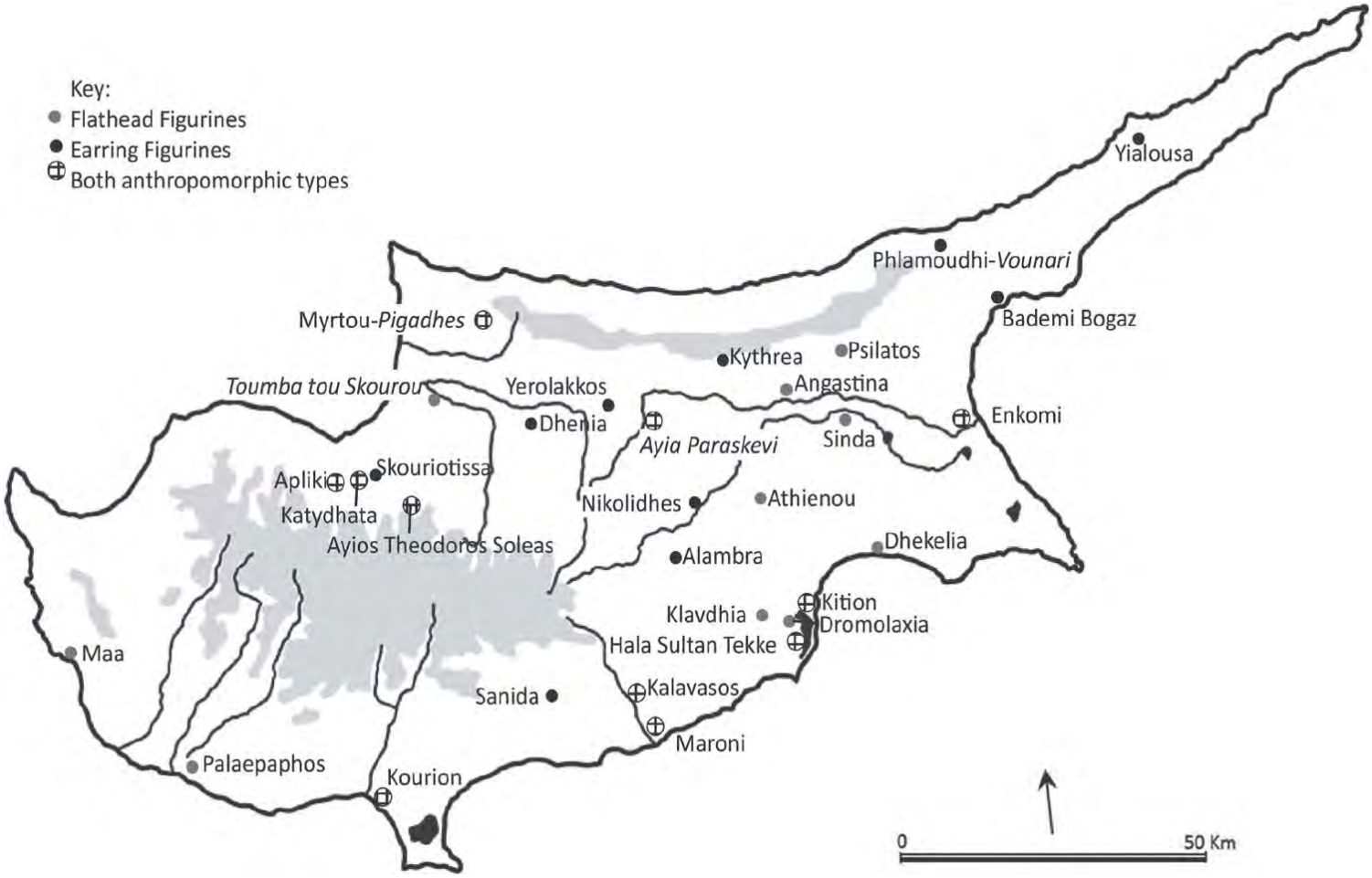

Figure 5.2: Map showing the distribution of Earring and Flathead figurines across Cyprus (drawn by author).

Although each type has a canon style, considerable variation exists in the rendering and presence of minor details, such as arms or navel, and decorative elements on the pubic triangle, chest and neck. Coupled with the relatively small surviving numbers, this suggests that Earring and Flathead figurines were neither standardised nor mass-produced (*contra* Karageorghis 1993, 1–2, 21). Significantly, within this variation, several pairs and small groups of almost identical examples can be distinguished (Table 5.1). Their similarity is significant enough to suggest that they were made, if not by the same hand, at least in the same workshop, but they were discovered at geographically disparate sites. Whereas earlier figurine types seem to have been made individually by households as the need arose, Earring and Flathead figurines were probably manufactured in small batches, designed by their makers to match a similar mental template of the required form. These objects travelled away from their site of manufacture, peddled by journeyman craftsmen perhaps, or as possessions of itinerant workers. The LC period is characterised by the appearance of large, often coastal, industrial or commercial settlements, many of which were

new foundations at the beginning of LC IIA. Although the idea of a politically unified island at this time is hotly debated (*e.g.* Peltenburg 1996, 27–37; Keswani 2004, 154–7; Knapp 2008, 384–5), there is little doubt that Cyprus's culture and population had become more integrated. In this context, the geographical intermingling of contemporary figurine types is unsurprising, but nevertheless significant in terms of their use as markers of identities.

Within the bustling new LC settlements, distinct groups of people with differing local, kinship, social or other allegiances, may have lived side by side, an environment in which the need to establish identities and group allegiances in a visible manner would doubtless have been heightened. The use of distinctive figurines, displayed or used in semi-public settlements and public burial rituals, was one means by which this could be achieved. It is no accident that LC IIA–IIIA witnessed the most prolific figurine use ever seen in Cyprus with more than half of all figurative objects known from the Cypriot Bronze Age attributed to this period (940 of the 1790 clay objects in human and animal form). At least 12 distinct indigenous figurine types and three imported and copied Mycenaean forms can be identified, most of which are distributed evenly across Cyprus and all of which are spatially segregated within the burial record. Each type, including the Earring and Flathead figurines under discussion here, likely represented its own separate, but dispersed, group using different criteria on which to establish independent identities.

Table 5.1: Significant groups of stylistically similar Earring and Flathead figurines

		Group Features	*Known Examples*	*Locations of Discovery*
Flathead figurines	1	hollow, straight arms, modelled curls	1897.04-01, 1322 (British Museum); 74.51.1543 (Metropolitan Museum, New York); E.003:184 (Medelhavsmuseet); A52 and A45 (Cyprus Museum)	Enkomi (British Tomb, Swedish Tomb 3.184), Nicosia-*Agia Paraskevi*
	2	hollow, angular face, exaggerated, vertical fingers	MLA 1009 (Larnaca Museum); A43 (Cyprus Museum)	Dromolaxia-*Trypes* (Tomb 1.1); Ayios Theodoros Soleas *Alonia*
	3	hollow, round navel, long body, small hands high up, small pubic triangle	A44 and E.T19.11 (Cyprus Museum)	Maroni-*Tsaroukkas* (Tomb 25.201); Enkomi (Swedish Tomb 19.11)
	4	hollow, round navel, both hands curving up, left to touch breasts in centre	A.T.3.15 (Cyprus Museum); (Kouklia Museum)	Kouklia *Palaeopaphos*; Angastina (Tomb 3.15)
Earring figurines	1	solid, upright infant, one hand above the other	NM 47.347 (Nicholson Museum, Sydney); 1964/IX-8/8 and 1937/VI-8/4 (Cyprus Museum)	Nicosia-*Agia Paraskevi*; Skouriotissa, Yialousa
	2	hollow, upright infant, three piercings	1897.04-10.1086 (British Museum); AO2407 (Louvre)	Enkomi (British Tomb 67), Tyre
	3	hollow, upright infant, crossed diagonals with double underline on chest	49-12-305 (Pennsylvania Museum); A55 (Cyprus Museum); 22.654 (Athens Archaeological Museum)	Kourion-*Bamboula* (B1563); Enkomi
	4	solid, incised horizontals on stomach, arms folding back horizontally to cover breasts	370312 (Smithsonian Museum); 1898.12-01/134 (British Museum); 19.29 (Cyprus Museum)	Enkomi (Cyprus Tomb 19.29); Maroni-*Tsaroukkas* (T14.103)

These groups were most likely defined by a complex collection of interrelated factors such as age, ethnic origin, social status, political or even religious affiliation. Contextual and osteological evidence for these criteria is regrettably scant. Multiple burial tombs, frequently disturbed by natural and manmade activities, for example, preclude the possibility of reconstructing individual burial assemblages which might have offered clues on the status or role of those buried with particular figurines. Similarly, lack of interest in skeletal remains at the time of excavation has obscured any insight into their age, gender or physical condition. Whilst figurines should never be treated as an uncomplicated window onto the past, in this instance such objects present an alternative and essential source of evidence. Earring and Flathead figurines played a demonstrable and active role in the display of identities, particularly within burial but probably also in settlement contexts. These similar yet distinct representative tropes

remained in use side by side as a tangible embodiment of these divergent identities. As such, exploring their contrasting physical characteristics can begin to unravel some of the criteria or symbolism on which these identities might have been established.

Both Earring and Flathead figurines developed through a disparate group of Middle–Late Cypriot anthropomorphs (*e.g.* Morris 1985, fig. 231; Karageorghis 1991, WhP.Bh.1, WhP.D.1 Ea.11) and ultimately derive from the Plank tradition of the Early–Middle Cypriot period in which the flattened head is an obvious characteristic, and 85% of examples included pierced ears (*cf*. Karageorghis 1993, 21). The divergence between the two LC forms, which accentuate different, latent iconographical features, may be partly explained by differing influences from outside the island. Earring figurines have some resonance with earlier Levantine imagery, particularly the Syrian Orontes MAI "type classique" which were used predominantly *c.* 2300–2000 BC (Badre 1980, 45–51; cf. Karageorghis 1993, 21; Webb 1999, 211; Budin 2003, 143–4). Both are naked females with breasts and incised pubic area, squashed faces, pierced ears and necklaces. Significant differences, however, confirm that Earring figurines were certainly not a wholesale copy of Syrian types. The latter always wear a pierced headdress which is not seen on Cyprus, but never appear either hollow or holding an infant, as many Earring figurines do. Given that several centuries elapsed between the last use of the Syrian examples and the development of Earring figurines on Cyprus, any stylistic influence must have derived from a complex, early and ongoing process of interaction between Cyprus and the Levant (*contra* Budin 2003, 199–241) which resonated with the importance of pierced ears within the indigenous Cypriot tradition.

Significant stylistic and chronological factors undermine the common suggestion that Cypriot Flatheads were influenced by the form of Mycenaean Psi figurines (*contra* Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002, 272; Bolger 2003, 91–2). Flathead figurines are naked, with round anatomical faces and cannot stand alone, whereas Mycenaean examples have narrow, squashed faces, are clothed from head to toe and stand upright on a conical base. Moreover, since Mycenaean anthropomorphs do not appear on the mainland prior to Late Helladic IIIA, around 1390 BC (French 1971, 103), Flathead figurines pre-date them by almost a century. Instead of Aegean resonance, therefore, two unusual characteristics of Flathead figurines hint at another possibility. Firstly their small, pinched ears are unique amongst Bronze Age anthropomorphic representation, yet identical ears do appear on every contemporary Cypriot bovine representation – a collection of figurines and vessels known as Base Ring Bulls (Fig. 5.3). Since this feature is omnipresent in the Base Ring Bull repertoire and otherwise utterly absent from the anthropomorphic corpus, it is plausible that the ears of Flathead figurines were deliberately intended to resemble those of bulls. Secondly, painted or modelled hair curls, another feature unique to this type, appear on 43 of the 49 Flathead figurines whose heads survive in good condition. Taken together, these characteristics are unmistakeably reminiscent of pictorial representations of Egyptian goddess, Hathor.

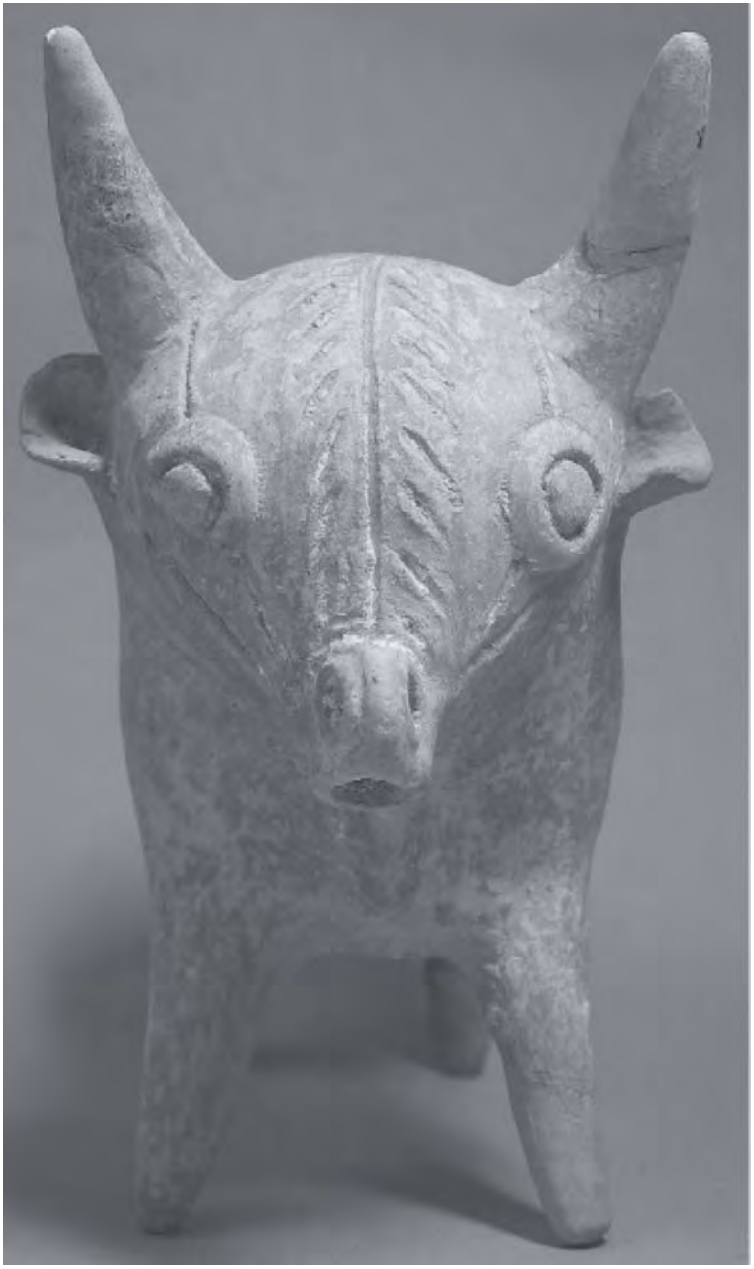

Figure 5.3: Base Ring Bull Figurine, Kazaphani-Ayios Andronikos Tomb 2B.198 (Cyprus Museum, photograph by author; courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

Egyptian cultural and trading contact with Cyprus is well-known during the Late Bronze Age. A significant amount of Aegyptiaca has been discovered in LC contexts and vice versa (Jacobsson 1994; Eriksson 1995). Significantly, Peltenburg (2007) argues that in LC II the island consumed an unusually high concentration of Egyptian Common Faience bowls, whose imagery and use within Egypt at least, is primarily associated with Hathor. While Flathead Figurines are evidently not direct copies of Egyptian representations, known characteristics of that deity may have been transmitted not by visual examples, but through oral communication, as has been argued elsewhere for the proliferation of Centaur imagery throughout the Near East (Shear 2002). Flathead figurines, then, would be local, Cypriot versions with bovine ears and hair curls rendered in distinctly Cypriot ways, but with the intention to represent something akin to Egyptian Hathor. This resonance with Hathor has important implications for our understanding of the function of Flathead figurines, their use in ritual practices and their possible relationship with the copper industry on Cyprus. What is relevant here, however, is that Flathead figurines call to some extent on the imagery of Egypt.

Although Earring and Flathead figurines grew from indigenous Cypriot forms, therefore, it seems likely that different external influences, from the Levant and Egypt respectively, helped to shape them into distinct types. Part of the ideological distinction between these types, then, might be explained by these different evolutionary paths as those who used Earring and Flathead figurines may have consciously or unconsciously allied themselves to Levantine or Egyptian cultures. This, however, is likely to have been just one facet of a complex array of identities

symbolised within these figurines.

Multiple ear piercing and flattened heads, the eponymous features of Earring and Flathead figurines, are known to have been practiced by the wider LC population and their appearance on the figurines may suggest a further component of the complex identities embodied by their use. Pierced ears are well attested in Bronze Age Cyprus, not least by the recovery of vast numbers of metal earrings, many of which weighed upwards of 8 g. There is no doubt that multiple, possibly large gauge ear piercing was practiced with frequency in the Late Bronze Age. Piercing could have occurred at any point during the life of the woman and been augmented, highlighted or ignored at will (although see Sørensen 1997, 101 on what might have been considered permanent or transient modifications). Furthermore, the heavy earring sets discovered in Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 11 (Goring 1989, 103–4) present the possibility that wearing earrings may have been an overt yet coded marker of specific wealth. In this tomb, two sets were discovered, apparently *in situ*, each comprising six plain gold hoop earrings. Both sets conformed to a known weight standard of 10.8 g, where one set added up to a total weight of six units and the other four units. Evidently, these earring sets would have been very heavy to wear and possibly have led to permanent stretching of the ear with prolonged use. Crucially, however, their conformity to this weight standard suggests that they may have been used as a sort of visible currency, signalling the wealth of the wearer with mathematical precision. Earring figurines, then, may well be connected to this practice of wearing multiple earrings as a marker of wealth and status, an obvious, physical signal of identity.

The rounded, flattened head of Flathead figurines, however, tell another story. These were formed with care from a separate piece of clay and have a distinctive ridge along the front edge. This ridge, as well as the unusual head shape, is characteristic of a skull deliberately shaped by post-bregmatic flattening. Cradleboarding in prehistoric Cyprus and the accidental plagiocephaly which this encouraged are well attested throughout the Bronze Age, both osteologically and iconographically. Infants depicted on Plank imagery and as Cradleboard figurines corroborate the practice in the Early–Middle Bronze Age. The rare LC Cradleboard figurines demonstrate its continuation into the Late Bronze Age (Karageorghis 1993, D.2–3). Several osteological studies have shown that post-bregmatic flattening, a deliberate modification achieved in infancy by cradleboarding with a flat object strapped to the head, was a practice specific to Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Bolger 2003, 141–4; Lorentz 2005, 46–7; 2009, 93–4). Attested with varying frequency at different sites across the island, this practice would have left a permanent indication of the infant life of the person, an inescapable marker of identity.

If Flathead figurines reference those whose heads were deliberately shaped in infancy, this implies an identity defined at birth, by kinship or heredity which could neither be acquired nor surrendered in adulthood. If Earring figurines, on the other hand, are connected to the practice of piercing ears and wearing heavy earrings of plausibly calculable wealth, they might suggest something more transitory. Piercings can be added and earrings added or removed at any time during a person's life. This wealth and this particular manner of expressing it may be acquired, augmented or lost at any given point. If Flathead figurines stood for inherited status, perhaps Earring figurines represented the "nouveaux riches". Whatever the distinction, it is clear that Earring and Flathead figurines were part of an integrated package of visible identity markers which made use not only of the represented, but also the living body.

Whilst Earring and Flathead figurines share many analogous characteristics and functioned in similar ways for similar purposes, their contextual distinctions reveal that each was relevant to a separate group of people, scattered across the island. These groups called on subtly opposing symbolic roots to display their differing identities. One referenced Levantine imagery, the other possibly Egyptian; one privileged pierced ears and wearing multiple earrings, the other a deliberately flattened head. Undoubtedly further distinctions existed as part of these complex identities which cannot easily be uncovered from surviving evidence. It cannot be insignificant, however, that both of these groups called on female imagery. Indeed, Earring and Flathead figurines represent the earliest Cypriot anthropomorphs to demonstrate categorical, anatomical gender, female or otherwise. It has been argued that the use of gendered imagery in prehistoric communities may have been part of a strategy to negotiate power and identity for previously disenfranchised groups (*e.g*. Bailey 1994). Similarly, the use of physical modification, jewellery and dress as visible symbols of identity has also been specifically associated with power relationships between groups particularly of women (Sørensen 1997, 98–105). Although there is no osteological or contextual information which might support their gender-specific use, it is nevertheless tempting to suggest that Earring and Flathead figurines

were specifically associated with female identities. It is plausible that two separate groups of people, possibly women, who were involved in small-scale industrial activities including the processing of copper, were able to take advantage of the blossoming economic environment of Late Bronze Age Cyprus to establish an improved social status. To do so, it was necessary for them to use persistent, visible means in order to promote and advertise their desire for change. The use of Earring and Flathead figurines in public and semi-public spaces played a significant part in this crucial system of identity display and negotiation.

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6

Handlers and Viewers: Some Remarks on the Process of Perception of Terracotta Figurines on the Example of Cypriot "Goddesses with Upraised Arms"

Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska

Coroplastic studies concerning figures and figurines have developed as a distinct, very vibrant and dynamic field of archaeological research.[1] Terracotta figures and figurines, especially anthropomorphic ones, are fascinating in the way they bring us *face to face* with the past, and have provoked numerous discussions concerning social structures, ancient religions, and even prehistoric models of beauty. Scholars have suggested that artefacts, including figures and figurines, should not be studied, as they are still often presented in museums, standing alone, extracted from their environment, visible only en-face and untouchable (Brumfiel 1996; Hamilton *et al.* 1996; Bailey 2005; Zonou-Herbst 2009). We can overcome these limitations by placing these kinds of objects within the social and spatial contexts they derive their meaning from, and not vice versa as used to be believed (French 1981, 173). The application of this dynamic approach, which underlines the three-dimensionality and performative aspects of terracottas, is of special importance. I hope to add an example of how these methodologies can help to *figure out* figurines, by asking a new type of questions.

The dimensions of the object play an important role in the process of perception and can have psychological effects on viewers and handlers, and this is the main subject of this paper. Bigger or smaller size imposes specific limitations and possibilities, *i.e*. a figure is more visible for a larger group of people, and a figurine is more palpable and easier to handle. Particularly miniaturisation combined with three-dimensionality forces a closer proximity between the object and the viewer or handler (allowing proper view of the object), which introduces a sense of intimacy and empowerment (Bailey 2005). In this paper, I focus on performative and experiential aspects of the figurines. Taking into account their find spots, dimensions, and portability, I discuss how they might be handled and displayed. This approach helps to reconstruct the perspective of those who created and used figures and figurines. I will discuss these issues by referring to a case study of groups of Cypriot terracottas, conventionally termed "Goddesses with Upraised Arms" (GWUA).

GWUAs are anthropomorphic figurines and figures, representing a standing person, most commonly gendered female, wearing a long garment (a skirt, often wheel-made), with arms stretched upwards and often bent, sometimes wearing a tiara or a *polos* (a type of head-dress, a high cylindrical crown). Figurines classified as GWUA are well attested in Cyprus from Late Cypriot (LC) III (1200–1050 BC) and were especially common during Cypro-

Geometric (CG) I–II (1050–900 BC) (Karageorghis 1978). However, they are still present in the assemblages of Archaic and even Cypro-Classical anthropomorphic terracottas in a more standardised form.

Cypriot GWUAs differ noticeably from their Bronze Age (BA) predecessors in the manner of representation, illustrated by the new characteristic gesture which replaced arms folded under the breasts or alongside the body, and introduced the long garment in place of nudity. These new terracottas were also made to stand independently and were therefore probably handled differently than the Late Bronze Age (LBA) ones. Furthermore, LC figurines were mostly found in mortuary contexts, while GWUAs were found within sanctuaries, thus suggesting that the meaning and function of figurines changed during the LBA/Early Iron Age (EIA) transition period. Nevertheless, some signs of continuity in Cypriot coroplastics are also noticeable; GWUA facial characteristics and painted decoration resemble the style of LC terracottas, and as in the BA, represent mostly female bodies. They also display diagonal lines, painted on the front and/or at the back of the torso of the figurine. This is a feature known since the LBA, when it was depicted on a nude torso, but also represented an element of a long garment. The presence of jewellery, in the form of painted bands on arms and neck, and pendants, is another sign of continuity.

A morphologically similar type of figures known from Crete (Gessel 2004, 131), especially common in Postpalatial shrines (*c*. 1490/1470–1075/1050 BC), is considered to be a primary phenomenon of the period's cult activity (Peatfield 1994), and is often suggested it might have influenced the origins of Cypriot GWUAs. Nevertheless, much more similar figurines and figures were popular in the Mycenaean culture (*c*. 1600–1100 BC), known as *psi*, *phi* and *tau* type (French 1971; Weber-Hiden 2009). The most prominent elements that suggest influence from the Mycenaean coroplastic production are the size, cylindrical, stem-like lower part of the body, and the *polos* in place of the Cretan GWUAs tiara. Other features that also suggest Mycenaean influence include the gesture and rendering of the arms, which are simply raised, rather than bent, and the absence or vague indication of fingers in paint that recall *psi* figurines and larger wheel-made figures found in Greek sanctuaries. Mycenaean figurines found on Cyprus belonged to the LC II (1450–1200 BC) and LC IIIA (1200–1100 BC) periods and the majority of them were of the *psi* type (Webb 1999, 213–5). The first local imitations found at Enkomi, Kition, Palaepaphos, Limassol and Hala Sultan Tekke date to the LC IIIA period (Åström 1991, 28–9; Kourou 2002, 16). The origins of the local figurine type in Cyprus in the LBA most probably need to be attributed to the Aegean population, although it also exhibits continuity of Cypriot coroplastic traditions.

The earliest Cypriot GWUAs were found in Enkomi, Kition and Limassol-*Komissariato* and are dated to LC IIIC (1150–1050 BC). Examples of the CG period (1050–750 BC) have been reported from Ayios Iakovos, Lapithos, Kition, Enkomi, Idalion, Palaepaphos-*Skales*, Ormidhyia, Ayia Irini, Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou*, and Kition (Karageorghis 1978; 1993, 59–61). There are several examples dated to this period, but of unknown provenance (Karageorghis 1993, 85). The GWUA group consists of many highly varied figurines and figures that differ in terms of size, decoration, associated attributes, and quantity found at individual sites.

Cypriot GWUAs of the LC IIIC and CG periods were predominantly found in ritual contexts, particularly in sanctuaries, as in the case of the so-called *Ingot God Sanctuary* in Enkomi (Fig. 6.1). Karageorghis (1993, 58) states that small figurines from the *Ingot God Sanctuary* represent a transitional type between LBA terracottas and the new emerging type of Iron Age GWUAs. They are indeed hardly distinguishable from the LC III Plain Ware (PW) figurines. The size of the PW terracottas varies from 6 cm to 17 cm, they are made of ordinary clay, the same type as that used for pottery production, and are rather crudely rendered. Some of them still feature separately moulded legs and an accentuated pubic area. However, their bodies are often cylindrical, splaying at the bottom in the fashion recognisable also in many, later examples of GWUAs. Examples of this type of terracottas are known from Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke and Idalion, from a settlement context and all date to LC III A and B (Karageorghis 1993, 26–32). The most visible difference is the gesture illustrated by terracottas; in accordance with LBA style, LC III PW figurines have their arms under or on their breasts, touching heads (especially in case of figurines attached to vases), or alongside the body. Thus, small GWUAs from Enkomi appear to be produced in the same fashion as their immediate predecessors, but with a different position of the arms and an abandonment of separately moulded legs in favour of a cylindrically shaped body suggesting a long garment.

Over 250 fragmentary anthropomorphic terracottas have been recovered from the sanctuary area, the majority of which (150 examples), can be described as female, based only on visible, moulded breasts. They are mostly of small dimensions, 6–8 cm, mostly solid, with cylindrically shaped body, upraised arms, sometimes also bent

forwards. The figurines have discoid heads flattened at the top with rendered facial characteristics and are often decorated in black, red and purple paint. The small size and large quantity of the Enkomi figurines do not allow us to identify them as representations of deities, while similar-sized statuettes from the same area, which are not visibly gendered, represented different gestures, probably holding objects (Schaeffer 1971, 328–43; Webb 1999, 212–3). Both types, as observed by Webb (1999, 213–5), could have originally been attached to circular plaques and arranged into groups of one musician and three female dancers, judging from the presence of fragments of bases and music instruments, and from complete examples of a later date. The posture represented by the figurines, with the body bent slightly forwards, also suggests an attempt to depict movement. Moreover, the hands of the participants are intended to almost or actually touch each other, which further underlines the importance of the group and communal character of the event. Because of the context within which figurines have been found, this representation should be seen as depicting part of the ritual, which included music and dance performances in EIA Cypriot religion, and was expressed with the gesture of upraised arms. The primary function of the figurines from Enkomi was to represent active participants of the cult, and the performance of the ritual itself, or they might have even symbolised a dedication of a prayer, or a ritual that was repeated continuously by being embodied in the offering. Schaeffer (1971, 326) also suggests that the figurines might have been ritually destroyed (*rituellement brisées*) and discarded, which further suggests that figurines themselves might have also formed part of a ritual.

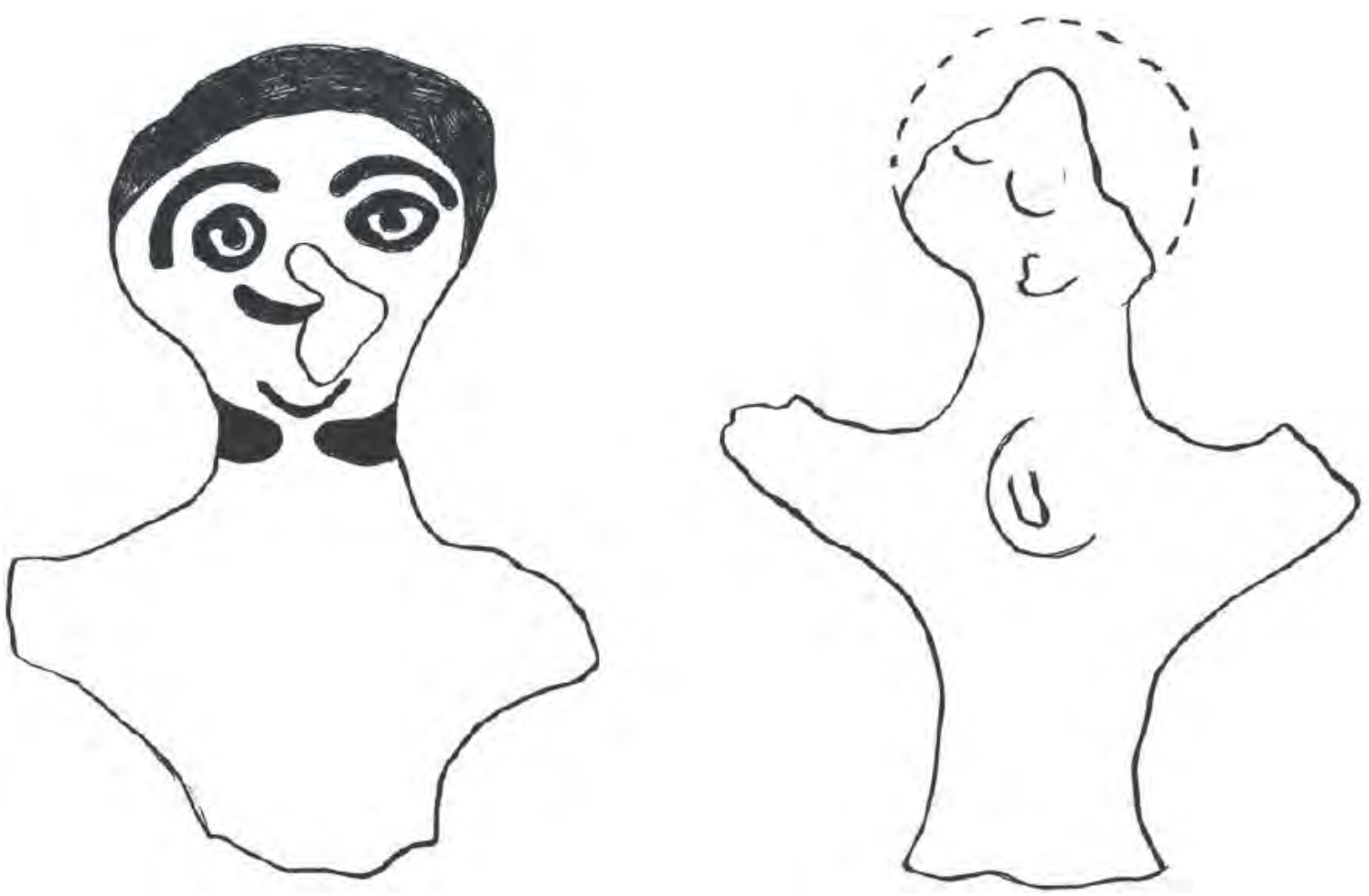

Figure 6.1: Figurines from Enkomi (left: 6 cm, right: 5.5 cm) (drawn by author).

GWUA-type figures and figurines were found in Enkomi in two sanctuaries: those of the *Double Goddess* and *Ingot God*, and in the debris in one of the rooms near the defensive wall. None were present in the *Horned God Sanctuary*. The sole figurine from Room 6 of Area I might be interpreted as having been placed there accidently. As mentioned before, the figurines were clearly concentrated in the western part of the sanctuary and in the neighbouring courtyard. This indicates that they were present mainly in the area of the southwestern entrance to the main building and immediately outside it. The interior of the sanctuary itself, further divided by the presence of hearths and stone slabs suggesting roof supports in the middle, could not have provided enough space for the performance of ring dances. The *Double Goddess* and *Horned God* sanctuaries did not have such courtyards and it

is possible that the character of the rituals carried out at their grounds might have differed. Thus, the presence of upraised-arm figurines in Enkomi is more likely related with the character of cult practice, rather than with the gender of deities worshipped, for example. I am more inclined to argue that "Goddesses" illustrates one of different strategies employed by gender groups to negotiate their social status. Thus, "Goddesses" figurines represent claims to authority by promoting a special female relationship with the divine, achieved through participation in special cult activities (Zeman-Wisniewska 2012).

Another characteristic sub-type of Cypriot GWUAs is a free standing figurine, with a pillar-like base, measuring 12 cm in height (Smith 2009, 126–34) (Fig. 6.2). Examples of these figurines come from Kition, a multi-period site located on the south coast of Cyprus, nowadays lying beneath the modern city of Larnaca. Only parts of the site have been excavated so far, due to the dense building development of Larnaca, and the available data is highly varied, including tombs, temples, workshops and fortifications. GWUA-type figurine and figure fragments were found in a cult-related context in the area of Temenos A and within twin Temples 4 and 5. The majority of figurines dated to CG I were found within Bothroi, and these assemblages of finds have been interpreted both by Smith (2009, 197) as burying places of objects used previously in the cult area, or as Webb (1999, 174–5) puts it: bothroi "… were both a means of safeguarding ritual objects and debris and maintaining continuity with earlier phases of the cult".

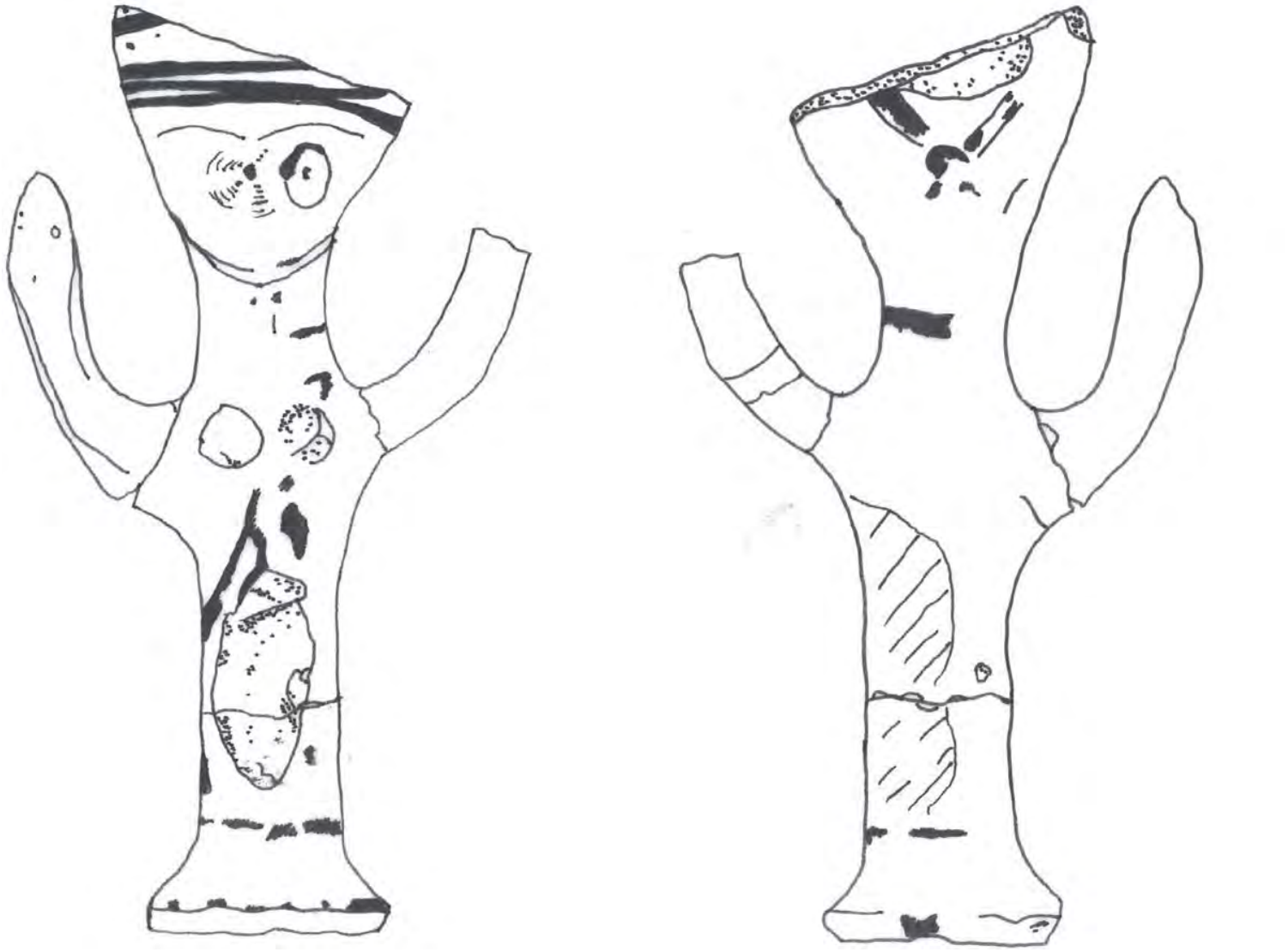

Figure 6.2: Figurine from Kition (14.5 cm) (drawn by author).

The smaller size of Kition figurines and the absence of a bell-shaped skirt represent their most noticeable features. They might be considered votive offerings brought to sanctuaries as personal gifts. Moreover, the cylindrical body of this type of figurine could easily be held in one's hand with fingers wrapped around the pillar-like lower part, while the arms and head would have been visible, presenting the emblematic gesture of upraised arms.

Small figurines provide the opportunity to look at an image in a way, or for duration of time, that would not be possible during contact with a live human body. One's hand becomes the background and the source of proportion for another reality, embodied within the figurine. This is especially true for three-dimensional objects, such as figurines, because they require physical engagement. Contact with a miniature object is an experience of personal nature; the viewer or handler has to welcome the figurine into his/her personal space (Bailey 2005, 38, 42). Miniaturism also provides the possibility of literally handling one's identity and social roles, for the purposes of display or negotiation, in an unthreatening way (Bailey 2005, 85). Thus, the size of figurines would facilitate the process of personal and intimate offering and/or prayer. This technical shift would indicate a new form of cult into which GWUAs were incorporated, not yet visible in the first experimental examples from Limassol-*Komissariato* or the miniature group representations from Enkomi. This pattern is also observable in later examples from the Cypro-Archaic period, as illustrated by the Palaepaphos figurines (Karageorghis 1978, 22–3).

GWUA-type figurines in Cyprus constitute part of the process of transition between the LBA and EIA. The main characteristics of this period are continuity and change; old traditions being influenced by cultures from both the West and the East, while those influences were instantly reinterpreted and incorporated into a distinct Cypriot culture. GWUA terracottas illustrate this trend very well. As discussed above, although they mark a change in coroplastic traditions, they still bear signs of continuation in style and are associated with LBA cult places. As they mark the end of the Bronze Age coroplastic tradition, they also mark the advent of a new style in the production of figurines and figures that flourished until the Cypro-Classical period. Thus, GWUA terracottas in Cyprus are another example of the ingenuity and creativity of the island's culture.

Figurines and figures are not meaningful on their own, but they gain their special meaning through their active use in ritual(s). Whether it is a communal, public ritual or an intimate act of offering, their function and meaning are inevitably connected in a way that might determine each other.

Note

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Part II

Material Culture and the Construction of Identities

7

Re-Making the Self: Bodies, Identities and Materialities in Chalcolithic Cyprus

Diane Bolger

Introduction

In this paper I explore some of the ways that changes in multiple aspects of bodily practice during the Chalcolithic period of Cyprus – human burials, figurative art, personal ornamentation and other forms of material culture – can be linked to one another through the concept of the "fractal self", a term first used by social anthropologists in the early 1990s but applied more recently in archaeological studies by Lucas (1996), Tilley (1996), Chapman (2000), Fowler (2002; 2004; 2008) and Brück (2006) (see also Borić and Robb 2008). I argue that a fundamental transformation of personal and social identity was brought about through the interactions between people, objects and places on the island during the first half of the 3rd millennium BC, and that it can best be understood within a framework of increasing sedentism and socio-economic complexity among the indigenous population, as well as higher levels of cultural interaction between local Cypriot communities and those of the surrounding mainland. Specifically, I focus on the ways in which changes in personal and social identity are reflected at four Chalcolithic sites in the southwest of the island: Lemba-*Lakkous*, Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*, Souskiou-*Vathyrkakas* and Souskiou-*Laona* (for the locations of these and other principal sites referred to in this chapter, see Fig. 7.1).

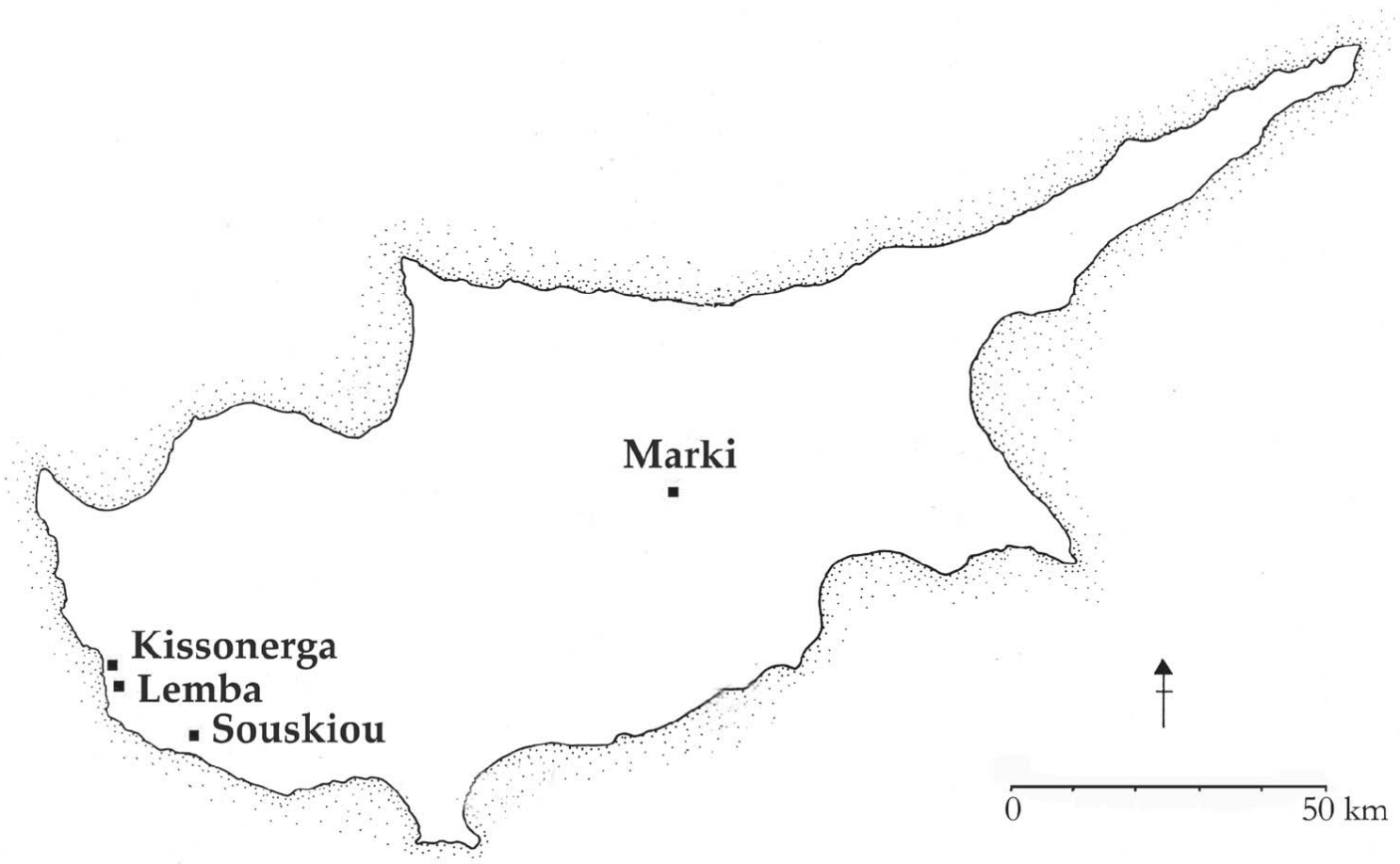

Figure 7.1: Map of Cyprus showing locations of major sites referred to in this chapter (drawn by author).

Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age burial practices

During the Early and Middle Chalcolithic periods, the predominant type of mortuary facility was the pit grave, with or without a capstone; pit graves occurred within settlement precincts and were often located near buildings (Fig. 7.2; in addition, see site plans in Peltenburg *et al.* 1985 and 1998). The overwhelming majority of pit graves contained inhumations of intact, articulated bodies, primarily of infants and children, and normally accommodated only a single burial per grave. These burial practices differ markedly from those of the Early and Middle Cypriot periods, which are characterised by multiple inhumations in large chamber tombs forming distinct, extramural cemeteries, such as the well known example from Bellapais-*Vounous* on the north coast (Stewart and Stewart 1950; Stewart 1962, 216–22). An equally marked contrast exists between artefacts deposited in Chalcolithic pit graves, which are relatively sparse and do not normally occur in repetitive groups, and those from the Bronze Age cemeteries referred to above, which are far more numerous and fall into more standardised sets" (Keswani 2013).

The only known exceptions to the customary burial practices of the Chalcolithic period occur at several sites in the vicinity of Souskiou, where a number of looted cemeteries comprising deep shaft graves with multiple burials have been excavated intermittently since the 1970s, most recently by a team from the University of Edinburgh at the locality *Laona* (Peltenburg *et al.* 2006). Although there is some evidence for intra-mural burial at the settlement of Souskiou-*Laona*, the standard treatment of the dead was interment in deep shaft-like facilities located in extra-mural cemeteries (Fig. 7.3). Recent excavations at the *Laona* cemetery are particularly important since the tombs and their contents have been carefully excavated over many seasons with particular attention given to the human skeletal remains (see Crewe *et al.* 2005 and Lorentz 2010 for preliminary reports). While the analysis of this material is still in progress, we now have a good idea of overall burial practices at the site, especially those involving the treatment of the dead.

Standard mortuary practices at the *Laona* cemetery involve the fragmentation and/or disarticulation of deceased individuals, whose remains were then reassembled into stacks of postcranial material with the skulls placed on top; in some cases a fully articulated skeleton was inserted as the final burial. Up to ten individuals have been

recorded in a single tomb, and as many as 14 at the neighbouring cemetery of Souskiou-*Vathyrkakas*. The collective nature of this arrangement, as well as the fact that all age groups are represented and that many of the tombs were re-used over several generations, distinguishes these mortuary practices from those at other contemporary sites in the region. Moreover, many of the Souskiou burials contain unique sets of artefacts not found in other tombs, a practice which may have emphasised inter-group distinctions. The shift from individual burials to group affiliation may be associated with the increasing sedentism of agricultural communities on the island, a development which is also indicated by the more permanent structures associated with settlements of the Middle Chalcolithic period (Peltenburg 2006, 177–8).

Another important aspect of burial practices at Souskiou is the location of tombs in discrete cemeteries away from the settlement. In reference to similar practices in Early Bronze Age Britain, Julian Thomas (2000) regards this phenomenon (which he calls "distancing the dead") to be a crucial element in the conceptualisation of ancestors, whose removal from the "here and now" of the settlement was necessary for attaining ideological acceptance. Similarly for John Chapman (2000, 145), the burial of disarticulated bodies in the Balkan Mesolithic, Neolithic and Copper Age signifies the identification of a particular place with the ancestors, thus linking the past with the present and future. While the Souskiou extra-mural cemeteries bear some resemblances to those of the subsequent Early and Middle Bronze Ages, they pre-date them by nearly half a millennium, far too long a gap to infer a direct link between them. Mortuary practices adopted during the Late Chalcolithic period are important for helping to fill this gap, and are discussed in greater detail below.

Figurines and personal ornaments in settlement and cemetery contexts

Chalcolithic burials, particularly those at Souskiou, were furnished with a wide array of personal ornaments, often in the form of anthropomorphic figurines and pendants (Fig. 7.4:1–6). These date to the Early and Middle Chalcolithic periods and occur in a variety of materials, most frequently limestone, picrolite, and pottery. While their variable shapes and decorations are not readily suited to typological classification, they are dominated by cruciform types depicting females in various stages of gestation. Chalcolithic cruciforms are known primarily from sites in southwest of the island (*e.g.* Erimi-*Pamboula*, Lemba-*Lakkous*, Souskiou-*Laona*, Souskiou-*Vathyrkakas*, Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* and Kissonerga-*Mylouthkia*), and while they occur occasionally in other regions as well, they have rarely been found in north or central Cyprus (this may be due to some extent to the lack of archaeological investigations in these areas since the political events of 1974, which has made it extremely difficult to estimate the degree to which Chalcolithic birthing symbolism represented a regional, rather than an island-wide, identity).

The bent knees and outstretched arms of cruciform figures suggest birthing postures that resemble more elaborate examples seated on what appear to be birthing stools. Alternatively, the flexed postures of some examples may be intended to imitate deceased individuals, who were normally positioned in this manner, at least in primary interments (Lorentz 2010, 23–5, although there is no osteological evidence to indicate that the dead were buried with outstretched arms). Whether associated with birth, death or both, the predominance of cruciform figures, many of which were worn on the body during life and continued to be associated with them after death, attests to the importance of the human lifecycle in the construction of personal and social identities during the Early and Middle Chalcolithic periods. At *Vathrykakas*, for example, strong correlations between cruciform imagery and group burials that include children suggest close links between children and anthropomorphic figurines and pendants; burials comprising only adults tend to lack such imagery (Peltenburg 2006, 163).

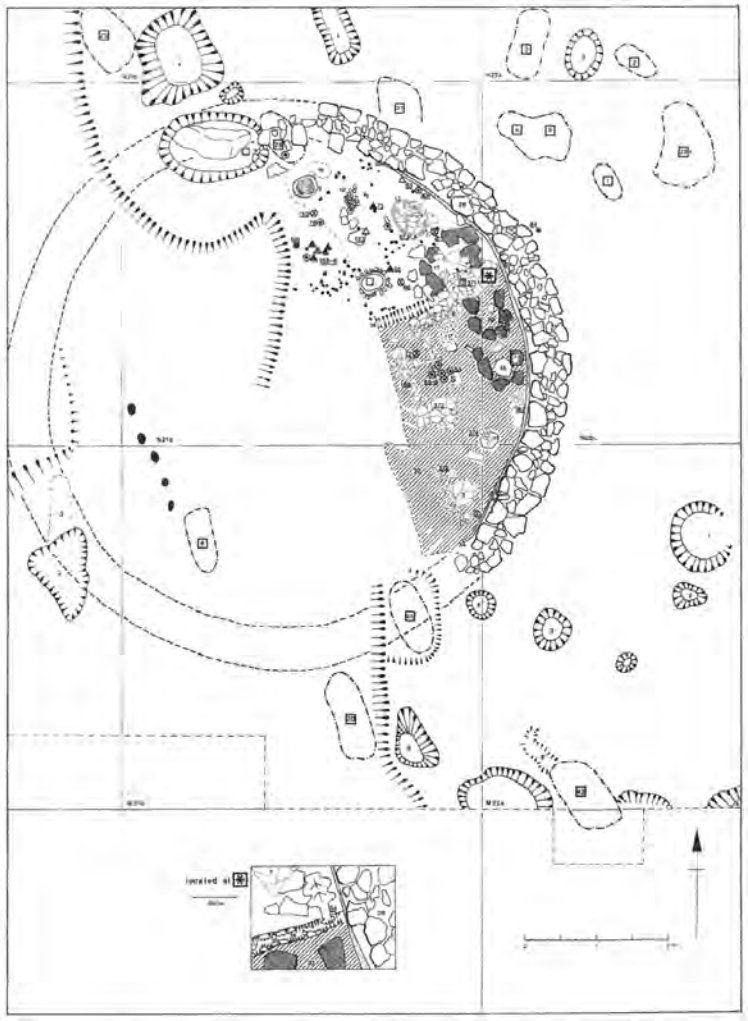

Figure 7.2: Plan of Building 1.1 with adjacent burials at Lemba-Lakkous; numbers in squares indicate pit burials (after Peltenburg et al. *1985, fig. 11*).

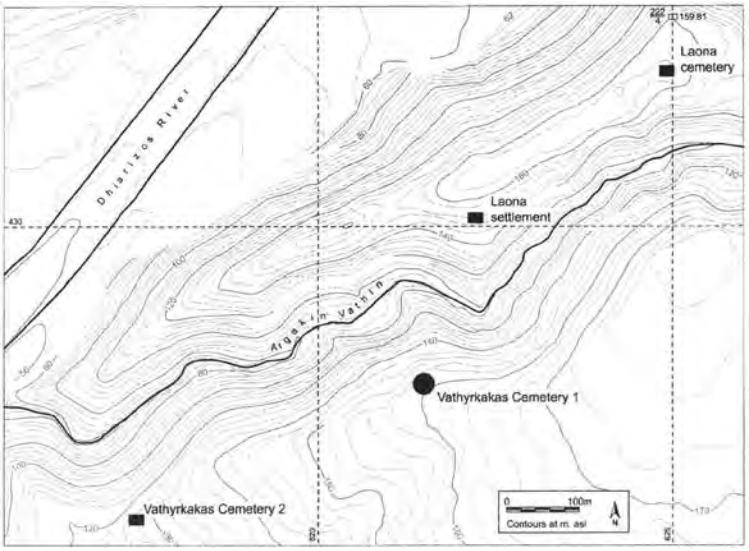

Figure 7.3: Plan showing locations of the settlement and extramural cemeteries at the Souskiou complex (after Peltenburg 2006, pl. 1.3).

Fragmentation of figurines and pendants

A recent study of Chalcolithic figurines and pendants sheds interesting light on the treatment of these objects, many of which appear to have been deliberately damaged (Keane 2011). While Keane's results indicate that only a small percentage of figurines and pendants at the *Vathyrkakas* cemetery appear to have been deliberately fragmented, significantly higher proportions of fragmented examples are known from settlement sites (*i.e.* Lemba and

Kissonerga) where intra-mural burial was the standard mortuary practice. While the figurative material from *Laona* has yet to be studied in detail and was not available for Keane's study, the numerous picrolite chips found in every area of the *Laona* settlement supports the notion of deliberate fragmentation if it can be shown that some of the chips were fragments of completed figurines or pendants rather than simply manufacturing debitage; preliminary examination of relevant excavated material suggests that this was indeed the case (Peltenburg, pers. comm.). In any case, the evidence suggests that practices of fragmentation, which were largely restricted to bodies at cemetery sites, were applied to figurines, pendants and other forms of material culture in settlement contexts.

A particularly important example of fragmentation within a Chalcolithic settlement context occurs in a ritual deposit at Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*; in some ways it can be regarded as a kind of burial, not of human remains, but of anthropomorphic figures in pottery and stone, positioned in and around a miniature model of a Chalcolithic roundhouse at the bottom of a ceremonial pit (Peltenburg *et al.* 1991). The building model itself was purposely defaced, and many of the accompanying figurines were deliberately fragmented; moreover, the entire deposit was capped by large fragments of Red-on-White ware bowls.

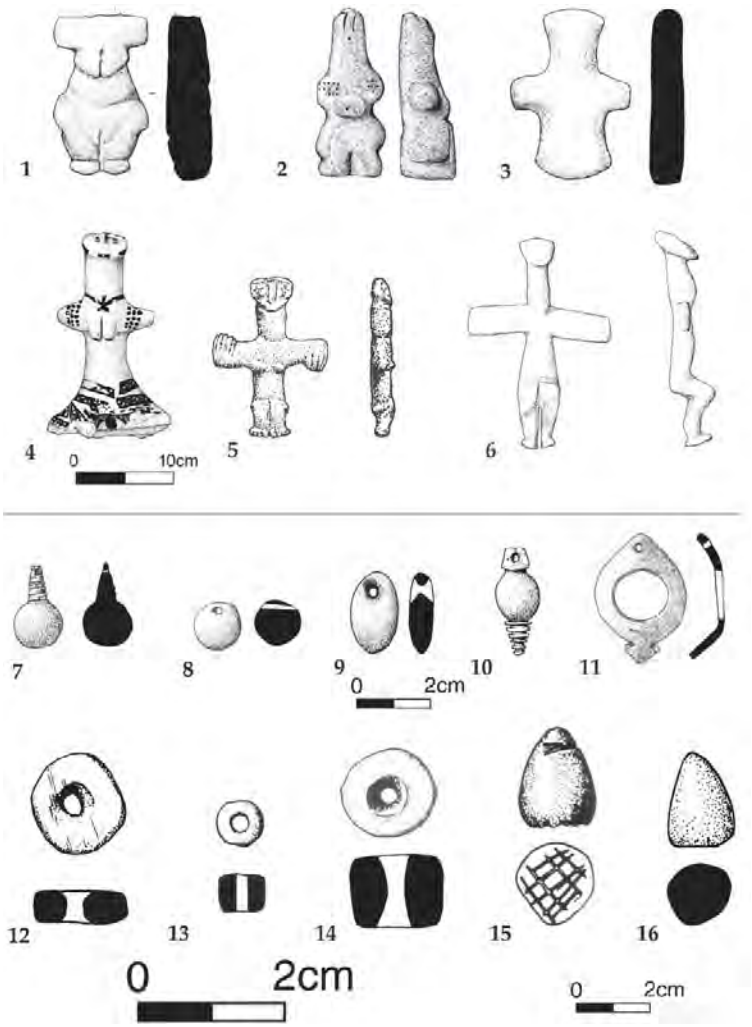

Figure 7.4: 1–6: Figurines and personal ornaments from Middle Chalcolithic contexts at Kissonerga (KM), Lemba (LL), Souskiou-Laona (SL) and Souskiou-Vathyrkakas (SV): (1) calcarenite figurine, KM 1471; (2) limestone figurine, LL 720; (3) KM 1470 dense chalk figurine; (4) Red-on-White ware "birthing figure", KM 1451; (5) picrolite figurine, SL T. 153/1; (6) picrolite figurine, SV T. 85/1. 7–16: Personal ornaments and other artefacts from Late Chalcolithic contexts: (7) picrolite pendant, KM 860; (8) picrolite pendant, KM 861; (9) chalk pendant, KM 1281; (10) picrolite pendant, KM 2105; (11) shell pendant, KM 858; (12) chalk bead, KM 807; (13) faience bead, KM 2932.01; (14) chalk bead, KM 822; (15) chalk stamp seal, KM 597; (16) chalk conical stone, KM 695.

The identities associated with lifecycle rituals that appear to have been so thoroughly embedded in Early and Middle Chalcolithic tradition (at least in the south and southwest of the island) began to break down during the early centuries of the 3rd millennium as Cyprus began to become more receptive to foreign influence from abroad, in particular Anatolia and the mainland Levant (Bolger 2013). The deliberate defacement of many of the objects in the

Kissonerga deposit attests to this development quite dramatically, signalling an end to a system of personal and social identity which had prevailed on the island for more than half a millennium. Anthropomorphic figurines and pendants have not been recorded from Late Chalcolithic contexts (either in buildings or in burials) although picrolite pendants in other, non-human forms continued to be produced. This is followed by a 500 year hiatus when, with the exception of a few fragmentary examples from Marki-*Alonia* (Frankel and Webb 2006, 155, fig. 5.1) and a small terracotta of uncertain provenance (Karageorghis 1991, 44, fig. 61), there are no known examples of anthropomorphic figurines or pendants of any type on the island. When figurative art re-emerged in Cyprus late in the 3rd millennium BC, it was entirely different in form and style and associated with a very different set of social relationships and ideological concerns (see Knox 2012 for a detailed discussion of Bronze Age figurative art; Morris 1985 and Karageorghis 1991 contain illustrations of some of this material).

Changes in personal ornamentation during the early 3rd millennium

In place of anthropomorphic imagery, there emerged at various stages from the early 3rd millennium onwards new types of personal ornamentation that were either imported or influenced from abroad (Fig. 7.4:7–16). The earliest of these are faience beads from Middle Chalcolithic contexts at Souskiou that resemble known types from Syria. A total of seven faience beads were recovered from rescue excavations at Souskiou-*Vathyrkakas* (Peltenburg 2006, 91–6), and there are likely to have been many more since the cemetery was heavily looted. Recent excavations at *Laona* have recovered more than 30 examples, all from mortuary contexts (Peltenburg, pers. comm.).

Twenty-one disc-type beads in faience with numerous parallels in southeast Anatolia and the Levant have been recovered in or near Late Chalcolithic chamber tombs at Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (Fig. 7.4:13; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 194), and Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga has also yielded examples of another personal ornament with probable foreign connections, the spurred annular pendant, which was manufactured in bone, shell and picrolite (Fig. 7.4:11). Similar ring-shaped pendants of roughly similar date are common in the Levant and southeast Anatolia at sites such as at Tell Bi'a and Hacinebi (Peltenburg 2007). At Kissonerga, faience beads and annular pendants coincide with the introduction of chamber tombs, a development that is also likely to have been the result of foreign influence, perhaps from Syria where similar tombs are known to occur late within the first half of the 3rd millennium at a number of sites (*e.g.* Tell Bi'a). In addition, the chamber tomb, comprising a single or double chamber, is one of the most frequent types of burial facility at Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga, accounting for *c.* 40% of known examples (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 70–2). All but one of these contained multiple burials, mostly of adults, and all lack anthropomorphic imagery; in addition to faience beads and spurred annular pendants, they include monochrome vessels with burnished surfaces and relief decoration which parallel similar types in western Anatolia (Bolger 2007; Bolger *et al.* 2014). These vessels should be regarded as foreign-inspired rather than foreign imports since they occur in Red and Black Stroke-Burnished ware, the predominant pottery type in the southwest of the island during the Late Chalcolithic period.

At Lemba, meanwhile, the pit grave tradition continued although some graves were placed farther away from buildings than had previously been the case. Chamber tombs were not adopted, and there were no faience beads or annular pendants; this suggests a significantly lower level of foreign cultural interaction than existed at Kissonerga, although the existence of relief decoration, including a fragmentary face pot (Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, fig. 62.5) and spouted bottles with relief decoration (Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, fig. 57.2), suggest that Lemba was not entirely sidelined from these developments (Bolger 2007).

Re-making the Chalcolithic self

In attempting to elucidate the links between changes in mortuary practices, the production and use of anthropomorphic figurines and pendants, and their replacement by new types of bodily ornament, I would like to return to the concept of the "fractal self", a term coined by anthropologist Roy Wagner (1991) and closely linked to the concept of the "dividual" self proposed initially by Marriott (1976) and developed subsequently by Strathern (1988) and others. It has been used in recent archaeological investigation to associate bodies, materialities and identities within a single interpretive framework which underscores their interrelationships. Unlike the integral self as

understood in modern Western constructs of the individual, the fractal or dividual self is fluid and open to transformation, and it allows us to appreciate the ways in which bodies – whether living or dead – are both subjects and objects of social practice. For Chalcolithic Cyprus, the concept of the fractal self furnishes a means of understanding the relationships between the variable treatments of bodies and material objects (in particular the manufacture, use, fragmentation and termination of anthropomorphic figurines and pendants associated with lifecycle rituals) and their gradual replacement by new forms of personal ornamentation that were more standardised in form, and that drew upon materials, shapes and technologies inspired from abroad. It also offers an explanation for the shift from individual to collective burial programmes, and from intra-mural burials in which the dead were interred in or near buildings to distinct extramural cemeteries located in areas not inhabited by the living. It is important to stress that these developments do not simply reflect changes in material culture and socio-economic complexity, or furnish evidence of "foreign influence"; instead they attest to significant transformations in social relations and lived experience of traditional Cypriot communities, which profoundly altered their personal and social identities.

But in what ways does the specific evidence presented earlier in this chapter shed light on the processes by which these transformations occurred specifically within a Cypriot context? In order to answer this question we need to adopt a contextually based approach that avoids overly simplistic, universalising models of culture change (Brittain and Harris 2010) and acknowledges a complexity of interrelationships between bodies, identities and material culture on the island at this critical juncture. The following points are proposed as preliminary answers to this question.

Firstly, the evidence suggests that changes in bodily practices during the Chalcolithic period did not always occur in a unilinear fashion. The fragmentation of human remains, figurines, and other forms of material culture, for example, did not take place simultaneously throughout the island or even within the southwest region; and it occurred recursively, as attested by the reversion to the intramural burial of fully articulated individuals at the settlement of Souskiou-*Laona* in the early 3rd millennium.

Secondly, it appears that variable practices were adopted at different sites within a region and even within a single site (Bolger 2013). Kissonerga, for example, continued the practice of individual pit graves during the Late Chalcolithic, but also began to use multiple chamber tombs, while at Lemba the practice of burial in chamber tombs was never adopted. As stated earlier, there are also significant differences in artefact assemblages at the two sites. This and other evidence suggests that forms of bodily practice and social identity were the result of deliberate choices by particular communities or sub-groups within a community, and that agency was therefore a key factor in the shaping of personal and social identities during the Chalcolithic period.

Thirdly, despite these inter-site and intra-site differences, mortuary practices involving individual burials (primarily of children) in pit graves together with anthropomorphic imagery were ultimately replaced by the adoption of larger, communal burial facilities in which adults and children were interred together in more or less equal numbers and in which human imagery no longer played a role. While the earliest stages of this process appear at the Souskiou cemeteries during the Middle Chalcolithic period, when anthropomorphic imagery was still the predominant form of personal and social identity, it became more pronounced during the Late Chalcolithic at sites like Kissonerga, where particular groups or sub-groups began to distinguish themselves by burying their dead in chamber tombs and adopting new forms of personal ornamentation inspired from abroad. The re-making of the self during the Late Chalcolithic period should therefore be understood not only in terms of changing patterns of kinship and social organisation on the island, which reflect the emergence of increasingly complex, sedentary communities, but also through higher levels of cultural interaction between Cypriot and foreign populations.

Finally, practices of fragmentation at different sites and across a variety of media during the Middle Chalcolithic (most notably bodies, figurines, pendants and pots) attest to fractal relationships between individuals, communities and society at large; these practices are inter-related and should be treated jointly rather than separately. This poses a particular challenge for the study and publication of excavated material, which is customarily divided into discrete groups and allocated to individual specialists who only rarely discuss their material with one another; a more integrated approach involving data sharing and collaborative interpretation would furnish greater evidence for fractal relations by investigating the links between various types of material remains.

While there has been a strong tendency in archaeological research to treat island societies as monolithic

entities with regard to their goals, desires, strategies, identities, and interactions with the outside world, this view seems overly simplistic and even reductionist in the face of actual evidence. Broodbank's observations (2000) on the variety of ways in which early Cycladic islanders perceived the land and the sea and Robb's references (2007) to the lack of cultural unity among Neolithic villages in Malta hold true for the communities of Chalcolithic Cyprus as well. If we wish to understand the lived experiences of early Cypriot populations from a more emic, subject-oriented perspective, we need to investigate questions of agency, identity and materiality contextually from the "bottom up" – on a site-by-site, communal basis rather than an island-wide or regional basis.

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8

Pots and People: An Investigation of Individual and Collective Identities in Early Bronze Age Cyprus

Jennifer M. Webb

Introduction

Archaeologists routinely consider artefacts in relation to other artefacts and use relationships of similarity and difference to create typologies and organise material culture into chronological or geographical entities (Jones 2007, 143). In this paper I propose instead to focus on the relationship between artefacts and people and ask whether different material assemblages reflect differently embodied lives in Early Bronze Age Cyprus (EBA hereafter) (on the existence of embodied individuals in prehistory and a review of the literature, see Knapp and van Dommelen 2008 and Knapp 2010).

Fundamental to this exercise is the premise that the way in which objects are produced, used and disposed of embodies social knowledge about what is appropriate, relevant and meaningful, technical knowledge about how things are or should be made and physical or performed body knowledge (Connerton 1989; Knappett 2005; Knappett and Malafouris 2008; Barbiera *et al*. 2009). Material culture is thus both product and precedent of human action (Wobst 1999, 129) and has the capacity to transform as well as to reproduce social identities at both the individual and corporate level.

My argument relies heavily on ceramics. Pottery vessels are used in almost every aspect of daily life as well as in mortuary and other heightened events. They are well-placed to reflect consumption practices, motor habits, cultural motivations and personal relationships and to articulate different functions, actions and categories of individuals. My focus will be on the performative and transformative aspect of pottery vessels, and more broadly on the way in which material things both embody and index as well as mediate and transform social identities (for a similar approach see many of the papers in Chilton 1999; Budden and Sofaer 2009; Sofaer 2011).

The data

The data is drawn from the Early Cypriot I–II phase of the EBA in Cyprus (*c*. 2300/2250–2150/2100 BC). This period (hereafter EC I–II) is characterised by clear regional differences in the ways in which pottery was made, decorated and used across the island (for a more extensive discussion see Webb and Frankel 2008; 2013). While almost all is Red Polished ware, following excavations at Marki, Episkopi, Sotira, Pyrgos, Kalavasos, Psematismenos

and elsewhere, it is now clear that the Red Polished ware of the central lowlands and central south coast (identified as Red Polished Mottled I–II) developed differently in this period from Red Polished I–II at Bellapais *Vounous*, Lapithos and Karmi on the north coast – and differently again in the west, where distinctive western forms of Red Polished ware and a related fabric known as Drab Polished ware appear to have been in use through much of the EBA (Graham 2006) (Fig. 8.1).

In order to explore the potential of regional ceramic signatures to reflect differently embodied identities, I will focus on two large, well documented assemblages, one from *Vounous* Site A on the central north coast (Stewart and Stewart 1950) and the other from Psematismenos-*Trelloukkas* on the central south coast (Georgiou *et al*. 2011). They are roughly equal in size, comprising 836 vessels from *Vounous* and 728 from Psematismenos; both come from mortuary contexts and they are contemporary or near contemporary. The latter is confirmed by stratified finds from the settlement of Marki in the central lowlands, where the EC I–II occupation phases (Phases C and D) produced Red Polished I–II Mottled pottery similar to that from Psematismenos in the same deposits as Red Polished I–II imports from the north coast (Frankel and Webb 2006, 110–12, 119). There are, also, a number of Red Polished I–II Mottled vessels at *Vounous* and Karmi, including two small bowls from *Vounous* Tomb 110 which have a chemical signature matching clays used in the south (Stewart and Stewart 1950, 136–7, 142, 223, Tombs 110A.2, 110B.5, 111.5, 163.9; Webb *et al*. 2009, 215–8, fig. 4.18; Frankel and Webb 2012, 1385, fig. 7). These cross-regional imports leave no doubt that *Vounous* Site A, Marki Phases C and D, Psematismenos – and sites with similar material in the south/central and north coast regions – were contemporary and in at least occasional contact. How do these very different assemblages reflect the social worlds in which they were manufactured, used and disposed of?

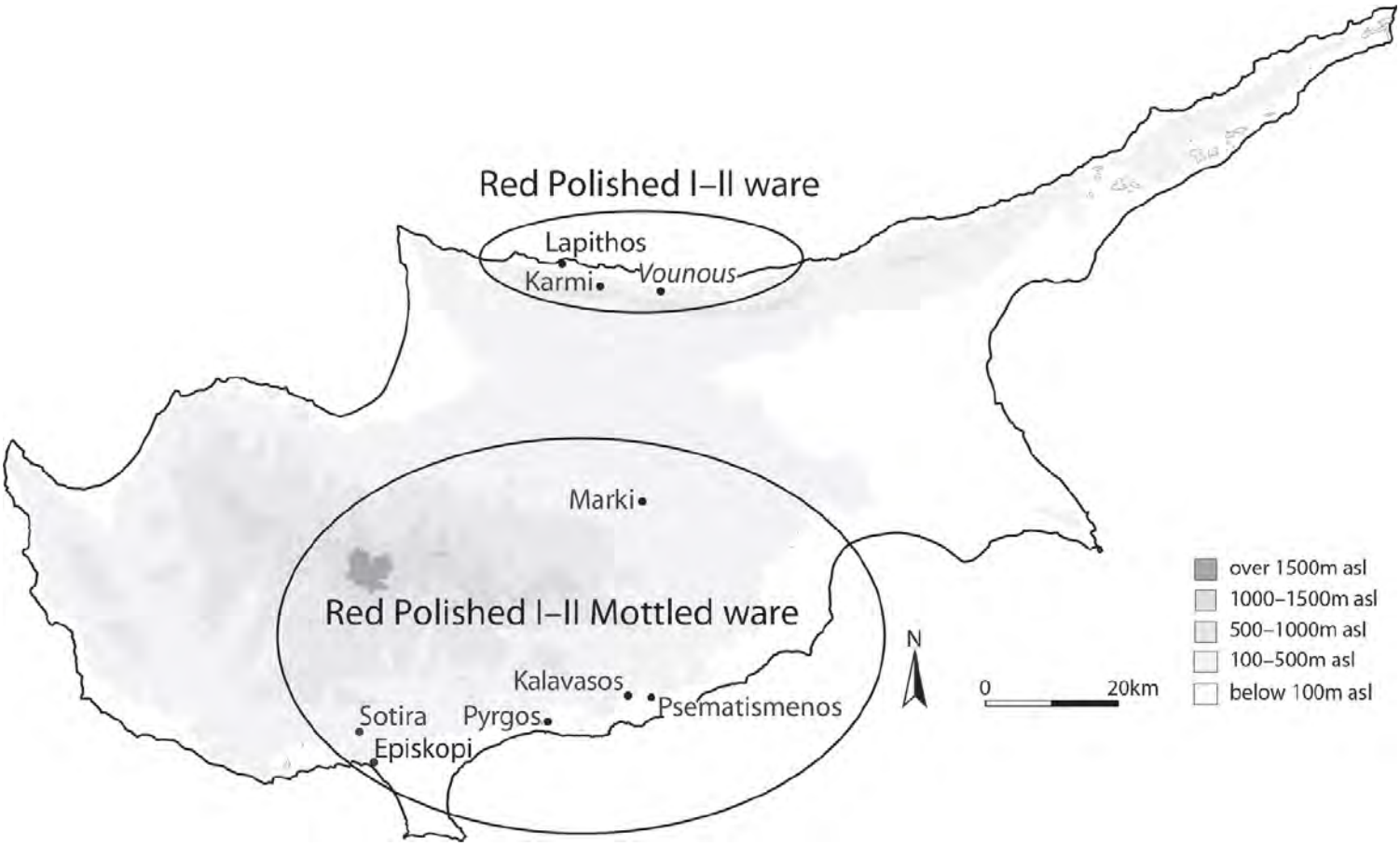

Figure 8.1: Map of Cyprus showing sites and main ceramic style zones of EC I–II discussed in the text (drawn by author).

Characterising the assemblages

Red Polished ware in use at *Vounous* Site A and elsewhere on the north coast in EC I–II is relatively soft-fired and made from fine-textured, light-coloured sedimentary clays with good quality lustrous slips (Fig. 8.2a). Small bowls are almost invariably fired black on the interior and in a band below the rim on the exterior while flasks and ear-lug pots are fired black on the upper body and neck. White-filled incision is relatively common and relief decoration

appears in the form of snakes, knobs and horizontal lines on jugs. Vessel forms are diverse (there are at least three small bowl types) and some of the more elaborate forms were probably made for use in mortuary and other ritual contexts. Small bowls have round or pointed bases; larger vessels have narrow flat bases. Incised motifs are visually and symbolically complex. There is an emphasis on individually distinctive vessels, particularly in the case of "tulip bowls" (Fig. 8.3a), which show deliberate variability, involving the accumulation and redundancy of elements in both form and decoration (Stewart 1999, 87–108, figs 19–26).

Tulip bowls are likely to have been drinking cups, although many have shallow spouts and some pouring capacity may also have been important. They appear to have been designed to be held in the hand (or in two hands) and perhaps passed around rather than placed on a surface. Their decoration usually differs, in at least one register, on either side of the vessel, or, where there are four elements on the rim, in each of the four quadrants. Many have a small horizontal hole through the solid base. While we do not know what this hole was used for or why, the decoration differs in different sectors of the vessel, and it is clear that these cups follow complex design rules and reflect particular performative practices. They are unique and individualised; they focus attention on particular individuals and imply graded or restricted access to substances and performances associated with burial at *Vounous*. They might be described as "vehicles of personhood"; that is, as objects with a distinct identity to be owned, exchanged and displayed (Gell 1998, 81).

More remarkable are a series of deep flat-based bowls (up to 28 cm high) from *Vounous* with modelled animal heads and paired discs with concentric or rayed circles on the rim, and rayed circles, swastikas, crosses, concentric rectangles, zigzags and other motifs on the body (Webb and Frankel 2012, 108–9, figs 22.5–8, 23, 24.1–2, pls 16–17; Fig. 8.4a). On one example incised animal-headed figures may be supernatural beings, humans dressed in animal skins or a projected transformation of humans into animals (Webb and Frankel 2010, 200, figs 14a, 15a–c). The iconography of these vessels reflects a complex cosmology involving animals and probably planetary bodies and other natural phenomena.

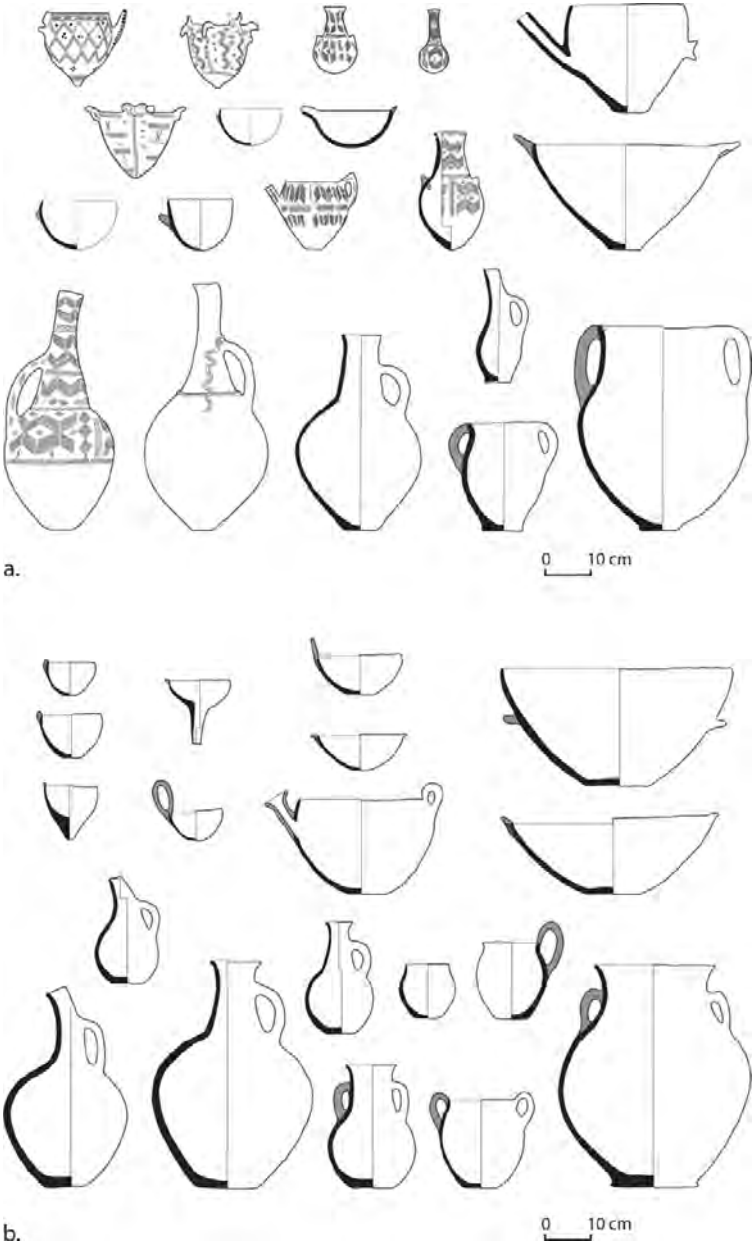

Figure 8.2: a) Vessels of Red Polished I–II ware; b) Vessels of Red Polished I–II Mottled ware (drawn by author).

More remarkable still are a number of pedestal bowls, the largest of which is 53 cm high, with whole animals or animal heads and miniature tulip bowls on the rim and similar complex incised decoration on the body (Webb and Frankel 2012, 109, pl. 18.1–3; Fig. 8.4b). One is of particular interest: it has two horned animal heads and a bird's head on the rim and another quadruped which is not fully preserved (Tomb 160A.11&13&22; Fig. 8.4b, right). In addition, two sockets in the rim allow for the attachment of a separately modelled stag and boar, both with corresponding slots in their underside. These were found at the base of the vessel and were probably originally attached to it by wooden pegs.

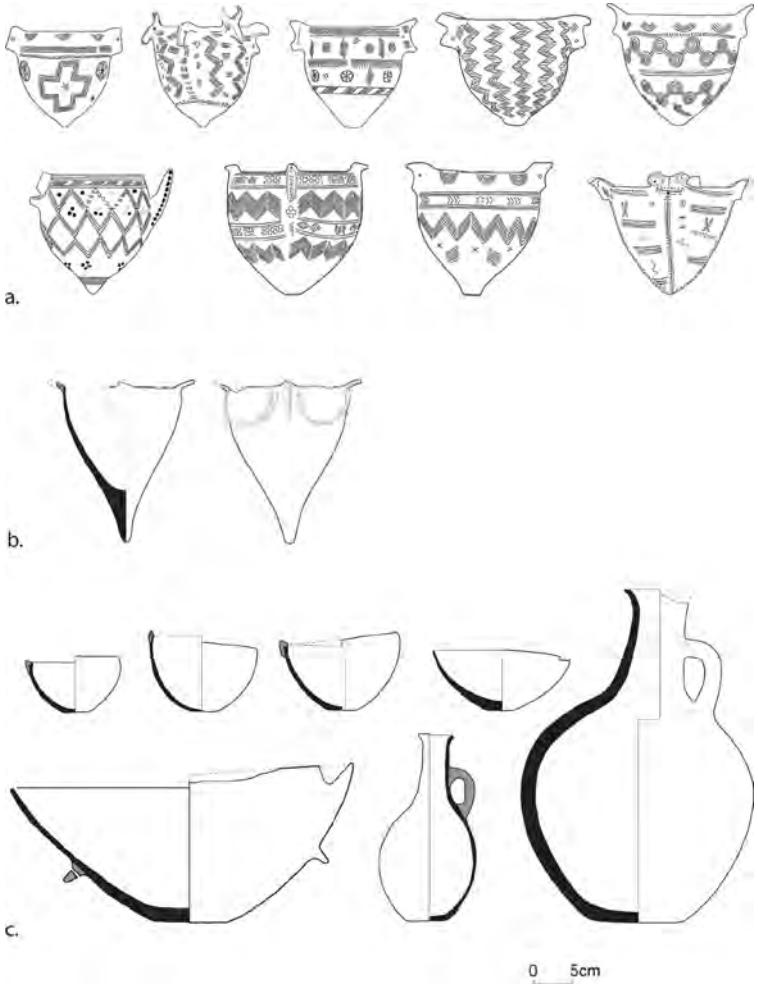

Figure 8.3: a) EC I–II tulip bowls from Vounous (after Stewart 1999, figs 20.5, 21.5, 22.3–4, 23.2, 24.4, 25.2, 6, 26.3); b) Psematismenos Tomb 108.18 (drawn by C. Carigiet); c) vessels from Psematismenos showing profile asymmetry or/and deviation on the horizontal plane (drawn by C. Carigiet)

There can be no doubt that these complex vessels were central to the visual ordering and physical performance of burial ceremonies at *Vounous* and that their iconography draws on well established, probably ritually stipulated conventions. This investment in "promotional technologies" (Hayden 1998) suggests a continuing emphasis on costly funerary ceremonial at *Vounous*. Such elaboration of material culture is essential to the heightened meaning and psychological functionality of objects (Gell 1998). That these vessels also had a performative aspect is apparent from the detachable elements of the pedestal bowl, which would have allowed for the display and manipulation of vessel parts during funerary ceremonies. They suggest that funerals at *Vounous* involved complex understandings, relationships and practices, staged to fix the deaths of particular individuals in time, place and memory. They suggest, also, the specialised production of pottery vessels and perhaps the existence of specialist potters, as well as specialised practitioners (people who had the authority to use these objects) and consumers who knew how to behave in relation to these objects and events. The elaboration and manipulation of material culture were clearly central to the negotiation and construction of social individuals and categories of individuals at *Vounous*.

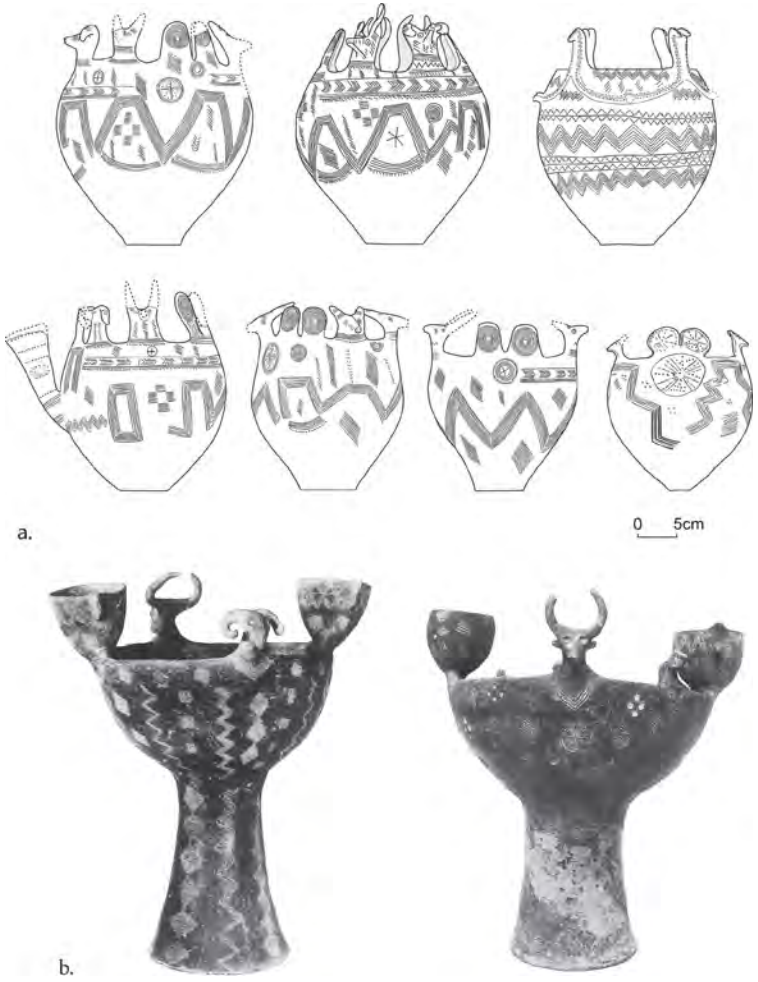

Figure 8.4: a) Deep bowls with incised and modelled decoration from Vounous (Source: Webb and Frankel 2012, figs 22.5–8, 23.1, 5–6); b) Pedestal bowls from Vounous (Source: Webb and Frankel 2012, pls 18.1, 3)

At Psematismenos the predominant ceramic signature is very different (Fig. 8.2b). Here locally produced red polished vessels belong to a medium-textured, hard- to very hard-fired, gritty, dark-coloured fabric with igneous inclusions. Slips are only lightly burnished and vessel surfaces typically have patches of dark mottling. This appears to be a deliberate if random form of "decoration", achieved during the firing process. Vessel forms are broadly similar to those on the north coast but have wide flat bases and a distinctive array of handle types. The range of forms is relatively restricted, with little internal variety. A single bowl form, for example, accounts for 95% of all small bowls. No vessel types appear to have been made specifically for burial and most vessels show signs of wear, indicating prior use in the settlement. Incised decoration is not present on any of the Red Polished I–II Mottled vessels found at Psematismenos. Relief ornament occurs on only 3.2% of the assemblage, almost exclusively in the form of low knobs and narrow loops on the necks of jugs. The only exception, and indeed the only truly exceptional vessel of any kind, is a large conical bowl with shallow spouts at the rim and relief loops on the body, which appears to emulate, in a south coast idiom and fabric, a north coast tulip bowl (Georgiou *et al*. 2011, 110, figs 2.105, 3.22–23, Tomb 108.18; Fig. 8.3b).

The technical and aesthetic differences between the dominant north coast and south/central red polished assemblages are considerable. North coast Red Polished is routinely burnished to a high lustre, vessels are symmetrical with even walls and fired in well-controlled conditions with specific techniques used to produce black interiors and rim bands on certain vessel types. Vessels show a high degree of variability and attribute diversity but at the same time conform to well-defined design structures and motif systems and the more elaborate forms are clearly the work of skilled potters. At *Vounous* skilled potters as a social category appear to have been essential to the creation of specific forms of material culture and to the emergence and perpetuation of other categories of individuals (such as ritual specialists) and social relationships.

At Psematismenos the assemblage shows a far lower level of both stylistic and isochrestic variation. Clays are, also, less well prepared (with a denser array and wider variety of inclusions) and vessels of all shapes and sizes often show profile asymmetry, and in some cases also rim or body deviation on the horizontal plane (Fig. 8.3c). This is not

necessarily a measurement of technical competence, but it implies a different understanding by both potters and consumers of acceptable outcomes or standards and suggests, along with the rarity of formal decoration and limited morphology, that the objectives of Red Polished I–II Mottled ware potters did not include a high degree of symmetry, embellishment or innovation. This is not to suggest that their pots were inferior – they are indeed far more robust – or even less "attractive" than those of their northern counterparts. The mottled surfaces of vessels are often dramatic and distinctive. While mottling, however, appears to have been deliberate, the effects were unpredictable, in contrast with the more formal and controlled aesthetic of the north coast.

There is also little at Psematismenos to suggest the presence of specialised pots or potters. The assemblage has a very consistent set of technical attributes which suggest that it was made in predictable social circumstances and ecological contexts, probably by part-time specialists using a restricted range of clay and temper sources to a fairly narrow set of expectations. Vessels have a different, arguably more efficient set of performance characteristics to the softer-fired north coast vessels, especially those with modelled decoration, which would have required much greater care in handling (presumably leading to higher replacement rates).

Most, if not all vessels at Psematismenos were removed from household inventories. This is likely to have been the case also at *Vounous*, at least for the majority of less elaborate vessel types (Dugay 1996). These differences in form and fabric must, then, in turn reflect different daily encounters with the material world. Specifically, the almost exclusive use of flat-based bowls for eating and drinking in the south and centre and round-based or tulip-shaped bowls on the north coast implies differences in the nature and perhaps location of consumption contexts, in vessel storage, presentation and handling and possibly in the types of food and drink consumed.

Differences between the two assemblages also imply differences in mortuary behaviour. The more varied set of vessel forms at *Vounous* and the likely ritual or cosmological content of their decoration and context of use would have required an understanding of an array of social and ritual niceties and of distinctions between functions, actions and categories of people. On the south coast and in the central lowlands there is little to suggest such complex interactions or that pottery fulfilled a similar differentiating role in mortuary ceremonial (beyond age and gender).

The relative incidence of vessel types also suggests differences in funerary consumption practices (Webb and Frankel 2013, fig. 10). Small bowls are the most common vessels at both Psematismenos and on the north coast, and other vessel types also occur in similar numbers. Jugs, however, are twice as common at *Vounous*, while large and medium-sized bowls are more than twice as common at Psematismenos. The emphasis on jugs in the north suggests that drinking played a prominent role in funerary events. The number and capacity of large bowls at Psematismenos may reflect a focus on the presentation and shared consumption of food. The evidence for funerary meals is, however, also strong at *Vounous*, where tombs contained quantities of largely adult cattle, sheep and goat bones. In contrast, faunal remains from Psematismenos and elsewhere on the south coast represent smaller portions from smaller animals, almost all immature sheep/goat. This may reflect a more limited resource base, prompting egalitarian economic behaviour as a more viable strategy for survival in the south (Hayden 1995, 26). Communities living in the comparatively well-watered north coastal plain appear to have been both significantly better off and large enough to generate surpluses for funerary feasting.

The *Vounous* and Psematismenos assemblages also appear to reflect different strategies for procuring goods for use in funerary ceremonies. At *Vounous* those sponsoring burial events at least in some cases had the ability to acquire unique and elaborate vessels; this implies a different set of relationships (of sponsored production, premeditation and control) to those suggested by the recycling of existing vessels at Psematismenos. A relatively informal, inclusive ethic of cooperation and mutual dependence may have operated at Psematismenos, while at *Vounous* asymmetrical sponsored events involved more formal and dependent relationships between host and participants and a more prescriptive set of expectations and behaviours.

These differences are also reflected in tomb size and form. North coast tombs are larger than those at Psematismenos and elsewhere in the south. The former normally had much larger entrance shafts occasionally embellished with carved pillars, door jambs and other features, including a relief human figure in Tomb 6 at Karmi-*Palealona* (Webb *et al*. 2009, 128–34, figs 3.36–44, 4.36–8). North coast tombs, also, were typically used for multiple burials while at Psematismenos most were single-use facilities, dug at the time of death. These differences in tomb form, size and function suggest a similar trajectory to that seen in the ceramics, with differentiation and elaboration on the north coast and stability and uniformity in the centre and south reinforcing the contrast between

an emphasis on rank and status negotiation in the north and social equivalence and inclusion in the south. Evidence from settlements of this period remains extremely limited and nothing at all is known of habitation sites on the north coast. At Marki, however, food preparation and storage facilities were moved indoors during EC I (Webb 2009, 257–62). This reduced the importance of ceramic vessels as items of inter-group display, an observation broadly in keeping with the burial data from the central and southern region.

Conclusion

The *Vounous* and Psematismenos assemblages embody and index a different set of relationships between pots and people and a different set of values, practices and ideologies, which in turn suggest qualitatively different contextual identities (or modes of personhood) at these two sites. People in these two communities engaged with each other and with things differently, using different technical strategies, different motor habit patterns and different day-to-day negotiations of both individual and collective interests. They represent both different production communities and different communities of practice.

On the north coast status, aesthetics and ritual were strongly embedded in material culture. Both potters and pots played an important role in the articulation of social categories and at the level of individual actions and social practice. At *Vounous*, in particular, skilled potters were essential to the production of highly prized forms of material culture. The incidence and complexity of decoration, particularly on tulip bowls, offered clear potential for marking individuals and individualised performances and for the negotiation of status and rank through mortuary ritual and inter-generationally through reference to the ancestors. In the centre and south, on the contrary, rank distinctions appear to have been defined by a limited number of material goods and linked to the lifespan of individuals. Ultimately, then, the ceramic assemblages allow us to "see" multiple individuals at *Vounous* and relatively few at Psematismenos, where the social system appears to have been dependant on more narrowly defined status categories and social identities determined primarily by role, age, gender and accomplishments.

At *Vounous* ceramic form and style appear to have been consciously manipulated in order to identify and promote individuals and groups of individuals within a community which was overtly exploiting cultural resources to manage increasing political complexity. In this scenario material culture played an actively transformative role and was in turn itself transformed, leading to greater diversity, complexity and performative potential. The pottery assemblages of the centre and south, however, appear to embody notions of group affiliation, tradition, cohesion, even an egalitarian ethos; promoting homogeneity and stability and putting a brake on elaboration and innovation. This implies substantive differences in the intensity with which material culture was used to index and contest social identities and structures in north and south/central Cyprus and real differences in cross-island trajectories toward social complexity in EC I–II.

If artefacts objectify or embody not only the individuals who make and use them but also the social relations that bind people together (Jones 2007, 143–4), then these social relations can be traced spatially and temporally by examining dimensions of difference and similarity in the material record. Regional entities on Cyprus in EC I–II represent not just spatial discontinuities in technological and stylistic traditions but much more substantive social and behavioural boundaries and quite radical differences in notions of the individual and of community. They reflect differences in both unconscious habitual and intentional choices; in notions of social agency and in individual and shared social practices as well as different ideological constraints; different relationships between individuals and society and, ultimately, different social collectivities. In sum, our two ceramic assemblages embody different material expressions of identity or, rather, different identities, materially expressed.

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9

Dressed to Impress: Metal Objects and Embodied Identities in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus

Maria Mina

Introduction

Following the premise of embodiment theory that "bodily experience is understood to be the existential ground of culture and self" (Csordas 1994, 269), this paper discusses the embodied identities that were generated in connection with the use of metal accoutrements and jewellery in prehistoric Cyprus. Proponents of an embodiment approach in archaeology have generally argued that the study of past identities should focus on the recovery of individuals and their diverse and subjective bodily experiences that cannot be accounted for by broad collectives (Knapp and Meskell 1997, 186; Meskell 2000, 13, 21; Knapp and van Dommelen 2008, 23–4). This emphasis on the individual and the self, however, has been contested for fostering essentialist notions and for underestimating the constraints that social conventions place on human action and social behaviour (Sørensen 2000, 48; Thomas 2008, 26, 28), a concern that I also share. In this paper, therefore, I shift the focus from the individual *per se* to the common experiences that were generated on a collective level through shared attire and adornment consumption practices in life and death. Through the private and personal act of dressing and beautifying the body, participation in corporate groups was also expressed through social conventions and an ongoing negotiation with the social audience (Treherne 1995; Sørensen 2000, 132; Stevens 2007, 86, 95).

This paper is organised in two parts which discuss the connection of metal objects in generating the embodied identities (a) of the living through dress and adornment practices, and (b) of the dead in the context of mortuary ritual. The analysis is based on a sample of 212 Early Cypriot (hereafter EC) (2400–2000 BC) and Middle Cypriot (hereafter MC) (2000–1650 BC) metal objects recovered from 16 sites across the island (Fig. 9.1). Although there is no strict separation between metal objects on purely functional or aesthetic criteria, the general categories of accoutrement and jewellery are employed here in order to distinguish broadly between items constituting part of a garment, and pieces worn on the body independently. Dress-related metal objects include pins and toggle-pins in a variety of forms. Jewellery took the form of ear-rings (spiral or hooped), hair-rings, tubes and spiral rings possibly adorning the hair, beads, necklaces, armlets, bracelets and finger-rings. It is reasonable to assume that weapons also constituted a form of dress accoutrements (Treherne 1995, 127; Mina 2014, 236), but the constrained space of the present article does not allow us to explore fully the possible implications.

Metal objects and the embodied identities of the living

Studying metal accoutrements and jewellery with reference to embodiment practices departs from earlier approaches that treated the body as a public surface, and instead places the focus on the objects' dynamic role in shaping experiences through dress and adornment practices (Joyce 2005, 145, 149, 152). Metal objects shaped the personal identity of their users in private but also in public contexts, as personal social position is dependent on interaction with others and bodily experiences are resolved through a physical connection with other bodies and material culture (Bulger and Joyce 2012, 71, 73). In a public context, self-representation was subject to the reactions and critical judgements by others who may have approved or refuted the projected identity (Fisher and Loren 2003, 225). The phenomenological approach, which negates the artificial separation between the surface and interior of the body, provides a productive avenue for exploring the connection of metal objects with the creation of embodied identities in private or public contexts through sensory awareness, memory, perception, thought, imagination or emotions (Joyce 2005, 152).

Figure 9.1: Sites that have yielded EC and MC metal objects associated with dress and adornment (Data drawn from: Gjerstad et al. 1934; Dikaios 1940; Grace 1940; Catling 1964; Åström et al. 1966; Merrillees 1974; Åström 1977; Peltenburg 1981; Kromholz 1982; Todd 1986; Balthazar 1988; Hennesy et al. 1988; Nicolaou and Nicolaou 1988; Coleman et al. 1996; Frankel and Webb 1996; 2006; 2007; Flourentzos 2001; Belgiorno 2002).

It is not straightforward or self-evident to assume the use of metal objects *by* the living *for* the living by extrapolating our conclusions from contexts that are largely associated with funerary deposition. Only 1.5% of the 212 metal objects have been recovered from habitational contexts, as opposed to the overwhelming majority which were deposited in a mortuary context. If this pattern does not reflect a bias in the archaeological record, then it may be indicating a low level of curation and recycling practices in habitational contexts as metal objects were consistently removed from circulation on funerary occasions.

Out of the whole range of metal objects, the most numerous category represents forms used to fasten and adorn garments (pins, toggle-pins), followed by hair and ear ornaments (rings, tubes), and pieces decorating the fingers, arms or neck (rings, bracelets, beads/necklaces) (Fig. 9.2). The albeit limited number of metal personal objects recovered from habitational contexts (Coleman *et al*. 1996, 134–5, A1, A3, A5–8 at Alambra-*Mouttes*;

Frankel and Webb 1996, 189–90, M3, M10 at Marki-*Alonia*) suggests that at least some forms (finger-rings, ear-rings and pins) were used in life prior to their final deposition in burials. Inevitably, we need to rely predominantly on mortuary contexts in order to draw inferences on the possible use of metal objects in connection to body areas, although we cannot be certain whether metal objects deposited in burials were worn daily, on special occasions, as components of funerary costumes, as offerings at the time of interment, or as a combination of any of the above. The contextual associations of metals objects with human remains of the Philia Early Bronze Age phase and EC–MC periods reveal that metal objects decorated parts of the head, such as the hair or ears, as suggested by their association with skulls (Swiny and Herscher 2003, 131, M20; Mina 2014, 236). The recovery of pins and toggle-pins in connection with the neck (Todd 1986, 99) and shoulder area (Stewart and Stewart 1950, 29, 30; Webb *et al.* 2009, 10, 11), the arms (Todd 1986, 421, 422), chest (Dikaios 1940, 11) and pelvis (Catling 1964, 69) also imply their use mainly on the upper zone of the body to fasten and adorn garments.

Plank figures (Fig. 9.3), which are placed chronologically in the transitional EC–MC period (Karageorghis 1991, 52), may also provide insights into the possible uses of metal objects in life. The elaborate motifs that decorate their surface have been interpreted as attire, woven textiles, jewellery or even body tattoos (a Campo 1994, 166; Knapp and Meskell 1997, 196). Although we cannot be certain whether plank figures represented actual people or idealised images, a number of features suggest the use of metal objects (and other materials) as jewellery: apertures on the ears and ear-rings rendered in relief (a Campo 1994, 102), motifs on the arms possibly denoting bracelets (Karageorghis 1991, pl. xlviii:1) and multiple chains with geometric patterns representing necklaces in simple or elaborate arrangement (a Campo 1994, 103). The use of metal pins and toggle-pins to fasten garments may be inferred from the representation of oblique lines running from the figures' shoulders to waist level (Washbourne 2000, 97–8). Washbourne has paralleled these motifs to the Near Eastern *tudittu* in the form of ornamental toggle-pins with a hole through which a material was threaded. Interestingly, a pair of toggle-pins with remnants of a wire preserved through the holes and around the shaft is in fact known from Bellapais-*Vounous* (hereafter *Vounous*) cemetery (Stewart and Stewart 1950, Tomb 84, nos 29 and 30; Washbourne 2000, 98–9). It is possible that plank figures represented visual media that may have commemorated elaborately adorned personae at a time when evidence suggests an increased availability of metal objects (Peltenburg 1996, 22; Keswani 2005, 369, 374, 384). Furthermore, the fact that all tombs containing plank figures also included metal objects (a Campo 1994, 113; Talalay and Cullen 2002, 185) may also suggest that the depicted figures and the users of metal objects coincided. Although sex may not have corresponded directly to gender categories in prehistoric Cyprus, plank figures depicting possible metal accoutrements and jewellery belong equally to asexual and anatomically female forms (*e.g.* Karageorghis 1991, 63, no. 14; figs 80 and 78–9:3), suggesting that there may have not been a mutually exclusive association between sex and metal objects.

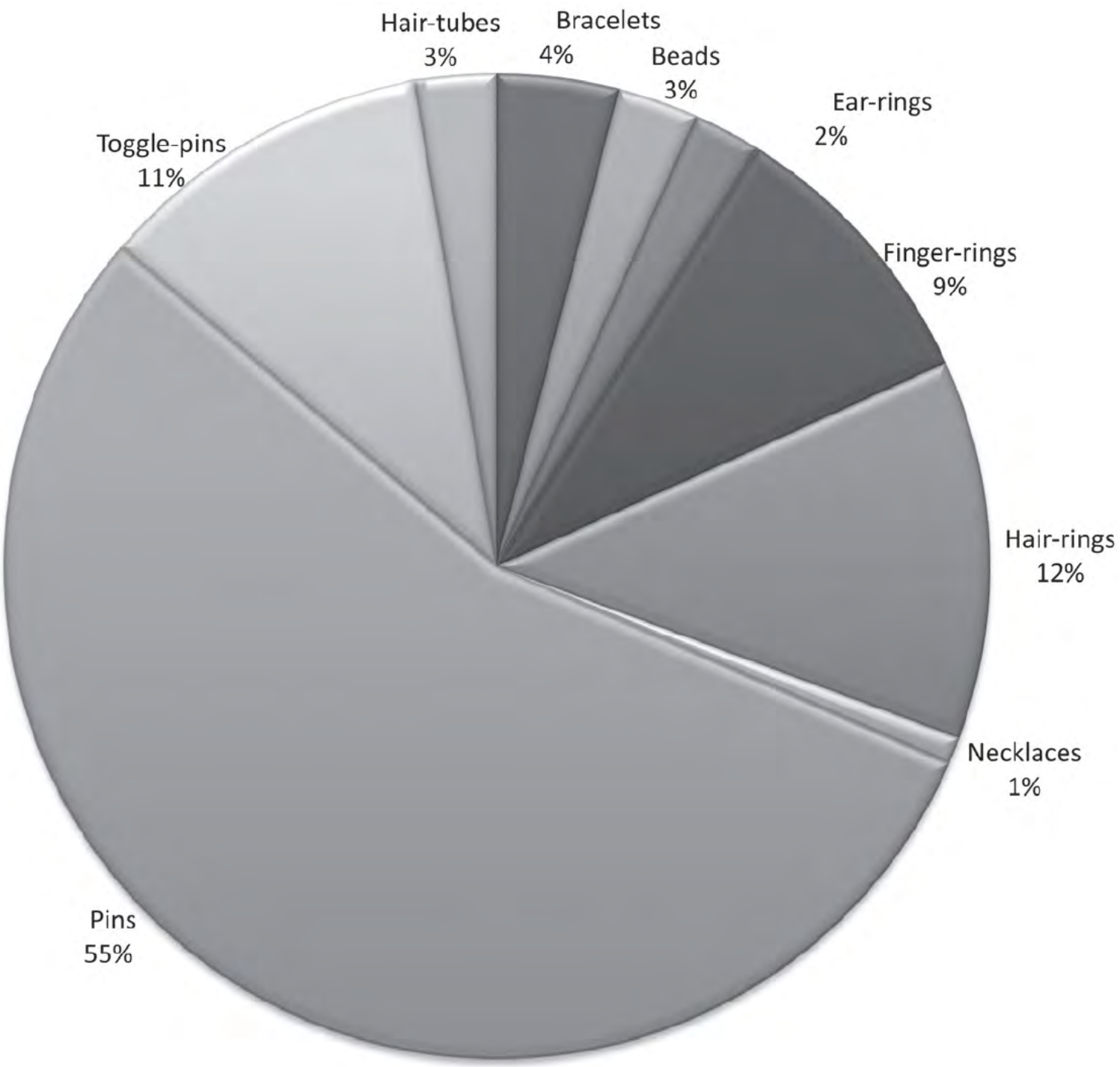

Figure 9.2: Breakdown of sample (n=212) by type of metal object.

Figure 9.3: Example of a plank figure (Cyprus Museum; photograph courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

It is not possible to know whether metal objects were used by the living daily or on exceptional occasions. They were, however, instrumental in consolidating the identity of their users through private acts, such as dressing or ornamentation practices, but also in a "staged" context witnessed by a social audience. In both settings, the material

qualities of metal objects contributed significantly to the creation of embodied identities by evoking the senses of the users, but also of the viewers through a process of open negotiation in space and time (Stevens 2007, 94). On the part of the users, the weight of some of these metal objects, as in the case of mushroom-headed toggle-pins with large heads and thick shafts (Catling 1964, 73), as well as their shape or mode of employment, are likely to have imposed particular ways of movement and possibly a corporeal memory of associated gestures or postures. Other sensorial effects of metal objects that impacted on users and viewers alike were related to the visually impressive appearance of their form, as well as colour, shine and texture. Analysis has indicated that metal objects were made of smelted copper and copper alloys, such as arsenical-copper and tin-copper alloys (Craddock 1981, 77; Swiny 1981, 71; Giardino *et al.* 2003, 387) and less often of silver and lead (Swiny 2003, 379; Giardino *et al.* 2003, 388). The use of arsenical-copper, apart from ensuring technical advantages (Swiny 2003, 379), also achieved a lighter colour (Giardino *et al.* 2003, 388), whereas tin-bronze created a visual effect similar to that of gold (Swiny 2003, 379). The distinct visual qualities of metal objects needs to be appreciated vis-à-vis against non-metal accoutrements and jewellery forms, which entailed primarily the use of bone or local stone (see Georgiou *et al.* 2011, 309 on stone beads).

Provenance analysis suggests that a limited number of metal objects, containing copper, tin, silver and lead, were made of imported metals or finished objects (Gale and Stos-Gale 1989, 253–4; Webb *et al.* 2006, 276), consistent with production from ores in the Aegean, the Taurus Mountains and the area of Elazig-Malatya in southern Turkey (Gale and Stos-Gale 1989, 253; Webb *et al.* 2006, 276; Stos-Gale and Gale 2010, 389, 392, 393, 394–5). Therefore, the exotic provenance of some of the metal objects, which the metalworkers were aware of and the users or viewers may have also acknowledged, is also likely to have triggered the collective imagination or to have maintained actual or illusive memories of foreign lands and their people, perhaps similar to the effects of faience beads.

Another aspect that relates to the construction and negotiation of the identity of the users of metal objects is associated with the mode of use and context in which they were employed. All forms represented detachable pieces that were not permanently fixed to the body. We should assume, therefore, that they likely marked transient identities (related to age, gender, social status) that could be contested and negotiated through the user's choices (Sørensen 2000, 135). Regarding the context in which metal objects were employed, their small size (particularly ear-rings and hair-rings) suggests that they were probably intended to be worn in intimate settings to promote a common identity through shared material culture (Schortman and Urban 2004, 194). Certain large objects, however, such as pins and toggle-pins which measured up to 40 cm in length, may have been displayed in public contexts where it was possible to ensure consensus over the concepts they embodied (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996), to legitimise social status and forge relationships between social groups (Schortman and Urban 2004, 194). Indeed the absence of regional styles in metallurgical production suggests that their stylistic conventions were commonly accepted and perceived across the island (Philip 1991, 90, 91). Metal objects, therefore, may have been associated with shared dress and adornment codes across the island, consistent also with the highly standardised and stylised appearance of plank figures.

Metal objects and the construction of identities in death

Personhood is not constructed only in relation to the living body, but also to the dead, as identities associated with use of metal accoutrements may have been transferred from the life arena to that of death (Treherne 1995, 106). Evidence for funerary practices involving the deposition of metal objects has been recovered from mortuary sites across Cyprus. Although the quantity of metal objects contained in tombs of the north coast is unparalleled on the island (Knapp 2013, 302) (Fig. 9.4), there is evidence for emulation of similar consumption practices at inland and southern sites (Keswani 2005, 384; Georgiou *et al.* 2011, 356, 357). At the time of burial, community members associated with the dead had the opportunity to compose a lasting portrait of the dead in the memories of the audience attending the brief event of the funeral ritual, citing aspects specific to his/her life through the arrangement of metal objects on and around the body (Treherne 1995, 120, 124). The conspicuous consumption of metal items in the mortuary context (Keswani 2005, 342–3) and the display of metal wealth laid on bodies, which were maintained intact, presented a life-like appearance of the dead. Moreover, objects such as mushroom-headed toggle-pins, which

are so large that it "is sometimes difficult to believe they were dress-fasteners" (Catling 1964, 73), may have been produced specifically or primarily to be used in a funerary context, which could justify their impressive but impractical form. Even after interment, when tombs were revisited for subsequent interments, visual attestation of the deceased's insignia maintained his/her memory alive long after death.

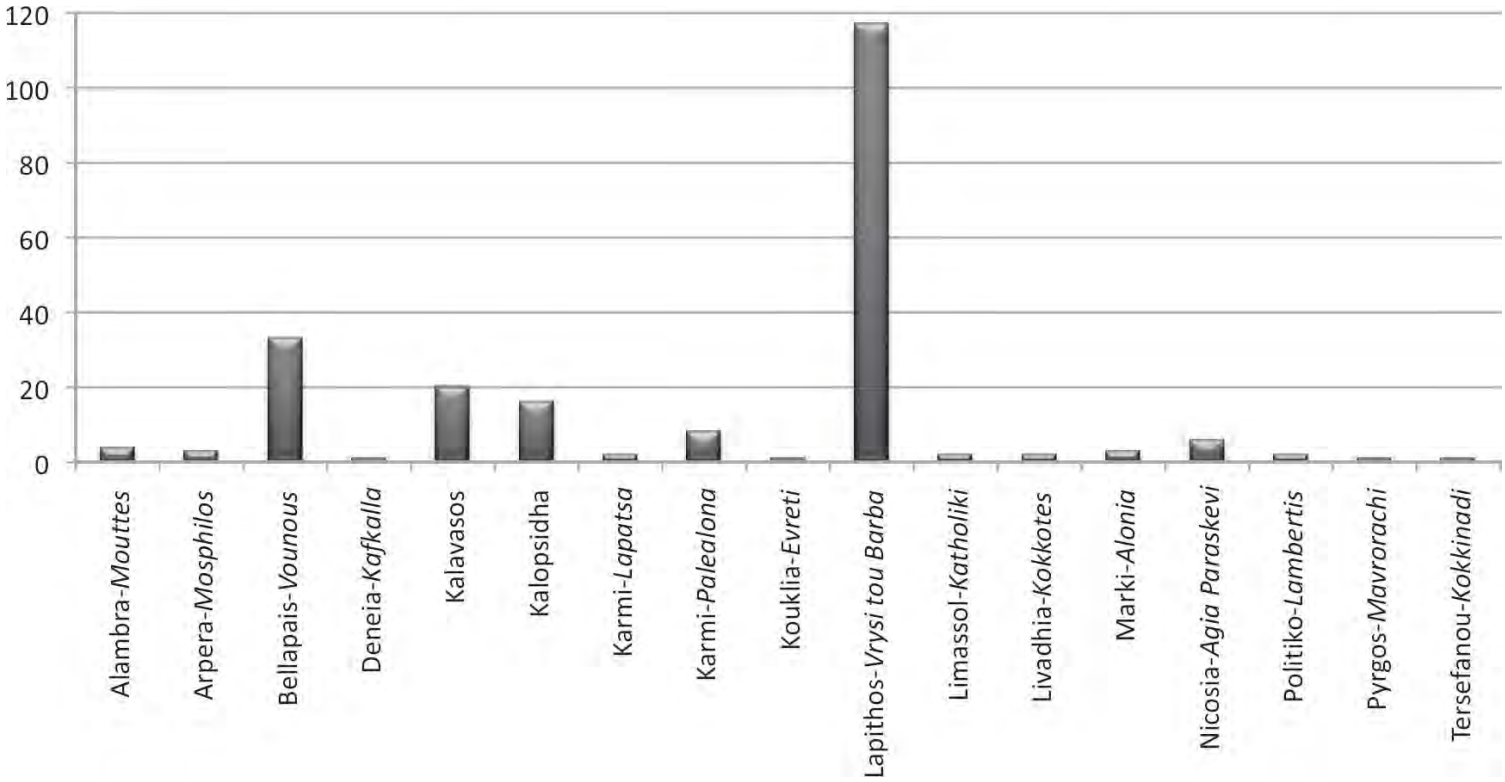

Figure 9.4: Total number of metal accoutrements and jewellery recovered by site.

The importance of metal objects in maintaining the identity of the deceased through reference to aspects of his/her life, actual or deemed appropriate by the associated group, is indicated by the objects' treatment at the time of burial and subsequently. Metal objects were treated differently to other offerings in that they often remained with the skeletons, whereas pots were transferred to the side of the chamber (Webb and Frankel 2015, 122). Such a persistent connection between the dead and metal objects implies that their identity and biography coincided, also inferred from cases of "ritually killed" weapons, the life of which was terminated at the time of their owner's death (Webb and Frankel 2015, 137). The close connection between the deceased's body and metal objects was also attested by the participants and attendants of funerary rituals who maintained a lasting memory of his/her "portrait" in its final resting place (Treherne 1995, 120, 124).

But what can we infer about the sex or age of the dead who were associated with metal objects? Accoutrements, such as pins, have been found in connection with two male skeletons, although they have also been recovered from a collective burial containing a possible female skeleton (Fischer 1986, 14, table 1, *Vounous*, Tomb 2; Pardoe 2009, 262, table A1.1, Karmi-*Lapatsa*, Tomb 12; 259–61, Karmi-*Palealona*, Tomb 13C) which cannot exclude an association across sex categories. Jewellery is also not exclusively associated with one sex, as spiral rings recovered from single burials are associated with both male and female skeletons (Domurad 1996, 516, 517, Alambra-*Mouttes*, Tombs 103, 105). Metal tubes have been found in association with male skeletons, but were also recovered from collective burials containing both male and female skeletons (Moyer 2007, 286–91, Tomb 65; 293–6, Tomb 67; 301–3, Kalavasos village, Tomb 71). Bracelets, ear-rings and necklaces have been unearthed in collective burials that included male and female skeletons, which does not indicate an exclusive association with either sex (Schulte-Campbell 1986, 169–70, Kalavasos village, Tomb 36; Moyer 2007, 278–80, 282, Tombs 60, 62). A possible fragment of a finger-ring is associated with a skeleton that could not be sexed (Georgiou *et al.* 2011, 303; Lorentz 2011, 320–1, 325–6, Psematismenos-*Trelloukkas*, Tomb 117). Evidence would suggest, therefore, that metal accoutrements and jewellery do not appear to have been associated exclusively with one category of anatomical sex, a pattern also supported by plank figures. We should refrain, however, from making inferences regarding gender as

in prehistoric Cyprus there may not have been necessarily a direct correspondence with sex. Moreover, it is possible that the use of metal objects was deemed appropriate according to social status and not gender.

Regarding the age of individuals associated with metal objects almost all analysed skeletal remains mentioned above were adults at the time of death. The only known exception is that of a probable female adolescent skeleton found with a spiral ring (Moyer 2007, 305, Kalavasos village, Tomb 75). It should also be mentioned that a metal bead found in a collective burial that included a 10-year-old child, also contained two adults (Schulte-Campbell 1986, 171–2, Kalavasos village, Tomb 38). Anthropomorphic figurines, however, are known to represent infants with perforated earlobes (Karageorghis 1991, pl. cxxxvii:4), although the material of ear-rings may have been other than metal. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that unlike sex, age is likely to have been a relevant factor for the identity of those that were associated with the use of metal objects, at least at the time of death.

Conclusion

Evidence from mortuary contexts suggests that, although the use of metal jewellery and accoutrements was not restricted, at the same time its controlled distribution suggests a degree of monitoring on who was deemed worthy to use them, or who could attain consumption rights. This disparity is evident inter-regionally, but also on a local level. On a regional scale, the concentration of metal wealth in cemeteries on the north coast exceeds the more modest numbers of metal objects in central and southern sites and contrasts against the range of mainly utilitarian copper objects recovered in settlements near the copper sources (Knapp 2013, 302). On a local level, evidence indicates unequal distribution of metal wealth, as in the case of MC Lapithos where 10% of the chambers contained 64% of metal objects (Swiny 1989, 27).

The relatively disparate distribution of metal wealth may indicate a shared code of associated prestige symbolism, even if at a lower degree (Georgiou *et al*. 2011, 357, 358), and suggests that use or association with metal objects may not have been indiscriminate, but could nevertheless be negotiated. Furthermore, the use of metal objects of highly conservative form (Philip 1991, 59) across the island, points to only a small number of production centres (Georgiou *et al*. 2011, 360) that supplied local communities with commonly accepted tokens of symbolism and prestige. The use of standardised metal accoutrements and jewellery by certain community members produced similar visual and aesthetic effects and generated distinct sensory and mnemonic experiences that underpinned a collective identity that transcended gender and possibly age (see also Mina 2009, 182). Despite the apparent regionality that characterises prehistoric Cyprus, therefore, metal objects suggest the existence of a shared identity that operated on a collective level through common embodied experiences and practices in life and death.

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10

Placed with Care: Interaction with Decorated Mycenaean Metal Vessels

Stephanie Aulsebrook

Vessels manufactured from metal appear in a geographically-wide distribution of Late Bronze Age deposits across the southern Greek mainland, *c.* 1700–1200 BC, although they remain relatively rare in the archaeological record. Their decoration required additional crafting time, labour and skill, altering their appearance and changing the interactions between the individual user, the vessel, and other participants within their context of use. Much emphasis has been placed within the discipline of archaeology on the communicative aspects of material culture (cf. Shanks and Tilley 1987, 97, 117; Kenoyer 2000, 91; for a more nuanced approach Meskell 2005, 2), but less attention paid to how this interaction took place. Study of the placement of ornamentation on metal vessels can demonstrate how the pan-sensory experiences of this element were intended to unfold. Through such analysis it is possible to gain a greater understanding of how Mycenaean agents and metal vessel decoration interacted, and thus what the presence of such ornamentation aimed to achieve.

This paper is based upon my doctoral research which, due to the chronological framework required to investigate changes over time, excluded examples that could not be securely dated (Aulsebrook 2012, 42–3). Therefore the dataset under study encompasses 69% of the total number known from the southern Greek mainland; approximately half of those excluded lack contextual data and are classified as Mycenaean on stylistic grounds alone.

Archaeology and the senses

To some extent, deliberate analysis of pan-sensory experiences within past societies is relatively uncommon in archaeological studies. This apparent neglect may be linked to the difficulties inherent in transmitting the relevant information through published accounts of material culture, which are often restricted to a few lines of text and a monochrome image (Hurcombe 2007, 109). Grounding this debate in the physical materiality or properties, affordances and qualities of materials (Ingold 2007, 14; Knappett 2012, 189–90), brings the body back centre stage via the senses and emphasises human-object interactions as embodied experiences.

The relationship between the material world and the senses is complex; sensory perception is not objective but shaped through engagement with the material world, making all the senses inherently flexible and, to some degree,

idiosyncratic (Hinde 1998, 176; Edwards *et al.* 2006, 5). The exact experience triggered by an object or event is also informed by auxiliary knowledge, such as the origins of a material, and by similar past incidences. Moreover, objects are not used in isolation, but within contexts of use that can involve multiple agents, artefacts and other variables, such as food and drink. The sensory experiences invoked by an occasion such as a palatial feast would have stimulated the nose and taste buds (Fox 2008), but these and similar elements cannot be reconstructed through examination of metal vessels alone. However, detailed analysis of such artefacts can demonstrate how they were generally intended to contribute to the stimulation of the senses, even if it is impossible to recreate the specific experiences of past individuals.

Experiencing Mycenaean vessels

A variety of materials were used to manufacture vessels in Mycenaean societies. There is direct archaeological evidence for ceramic, faience, ivory, metal, and stone vessels. Perishable organic materials, such as wood or basketry, were also utilised with direct and indirect evidence from the Aegean. Each material has its own set of properties meaning they provide different pan-sensory experiences. Metals generally have high reflectivity and strong hues, are smooth, dense and resistant to damage, and are good conductors of heat. Although imitative features within vessel assemblages may reference metal, such as ceramic vessels with base and neck rings mimicking seams, small circular clay pellets replicated rivets (Mountjoy 1993, 38) or decorations like fluting and arcading, which are better suited to metal (Warren 1969, 172, even examples such as the tinned vessels found in numerous Mycenaean tombs (cf. Gillis 1991–1992; 1996; 1997) cannot fully recreate the pan-sensory experiences stimulated by a metal vessel, and it is unlikely that this was the intention. Attempts to replicate tinned vessels have found the coating would have been fragile and easily damaged by prolonged handling (Holmberg 1983, 384).

Nor are pan-sensory experiences related to metals uniform. Vessels manufactured from bronze, copper, electrum, gold, lead, silver and silvered copper, a special chemical fusion of silver onto a copper surface (cf. Charles 1968; La Niece 1993), have been found on the southern mainland. Differences in properties such as colour, density, and hardness, give each metal its own set of characteristics. Also the rate and effects of corrosion significantly differs between metals. Their vulnerability to corrosion, with the notable exception of gold, means over time the pan-sensory experience offered by a single vessel may have changed. Reduction in reflectivity and colour change would have been the most noticeable alterations.

Material was only one factor governing the pan-sensory experience of these objects. Scale and form are two important aspects, each having a direct bearing on the context of use intended for each individual vessel, and therefore the associated embodied practices. Linked to scale and material is, of course, the weight of objects, which would again have impacted on how individuals could interact with these vessels. Also events within the object biography of individual vessels could have influenced pan-sensory experiences, such as the addition of repair plates. Changes to the objects, including corrosion, may not have affected all the senses equally or concurrently; for example the visual impact of silver tarnishing would have occurred before the associated textural alterations.

The relative infrequency of metal vessels and their depositional contexts strongly suggest that for the majority of this period their use was restricted to the higher echelons of Mycenaean society. The use of such material culture as markers of social status bound them within the networks of political power, making it likely that at least some types of metal vessels were limited in circulation either by economically or socially based criteria, as a means of control (Costin and Earle 1989, 691). These restrictions probably involved geographical distribution as well as vertically-prescribed access within a single community. Access to the pan-sensory experiences of metal vessels within Mycenaean societies therefore was not universal but differential which, as explored further below, was an important aspect to their usage.

Decorating Mycenaean metal vessels

The decoration of metal vessels extended and diversified the pan-sensory experiences they stimulated. It falls into two main groups: relief decoration, the most common type, conveyed ornament through light and shadow, whereas the less frequent inlaid decoration used colour contrast. Plastic decoration was also added to vessels but was highly

unusual. Decoration acts as a physical mnemonic for the additional labour, time and skill invested within the crafting of ornamented vessels. The motifs used had strong links to wider Aegean iconography, with some representing scenes and symbols connected to elite Mycenaean identities. Although some examples share decoration, presumably as a set (such as the two silver Vapheio cups and jug with simple linear decoration from the Vapheio tholos (Davis 1977, nos 105 (NMA 1888), 106 (NMA 1887) and 108 (NMA 1901); figs 204, 205 and 208), the majority are individually recognisable, as even similar motifs are executed in slightly different ways. By rendering possible the identification of specific vessels or sets of vessels, they can be linked to a unique historical object biography (Kopytoff 1988; Joy 2009). Therefore decorative ornament had multiple purposes beyond the stimulation of appreciation, but it was not applied to all metal vessels; approximately two-thirds of those in this study had no type of ornamentation at all.

Although much effort was expended searching for chronological or regional trends within these analyses, in fact these simply did not materialise (Aulsebrook 2012, 302–11). This implies that the underlying motivations and impetus for the placement of decoration on metal vessels remained constant throughout this period, despite the upheavals caused by the development and discard of shapes across the corpus. This consistency in the generalised intended pan-sensory experiences stimulated by decoration over time would have cemented the power of these objects through repetition, creating stabilised expectations continually reinforced through the embodied practices in which they were used. Such an environment would have encouraged the development of modes of etiquette (Wright 2004), with emphasis on understanding and following the correct bodily gestures and behaviours associated with the usage of metal vessels.

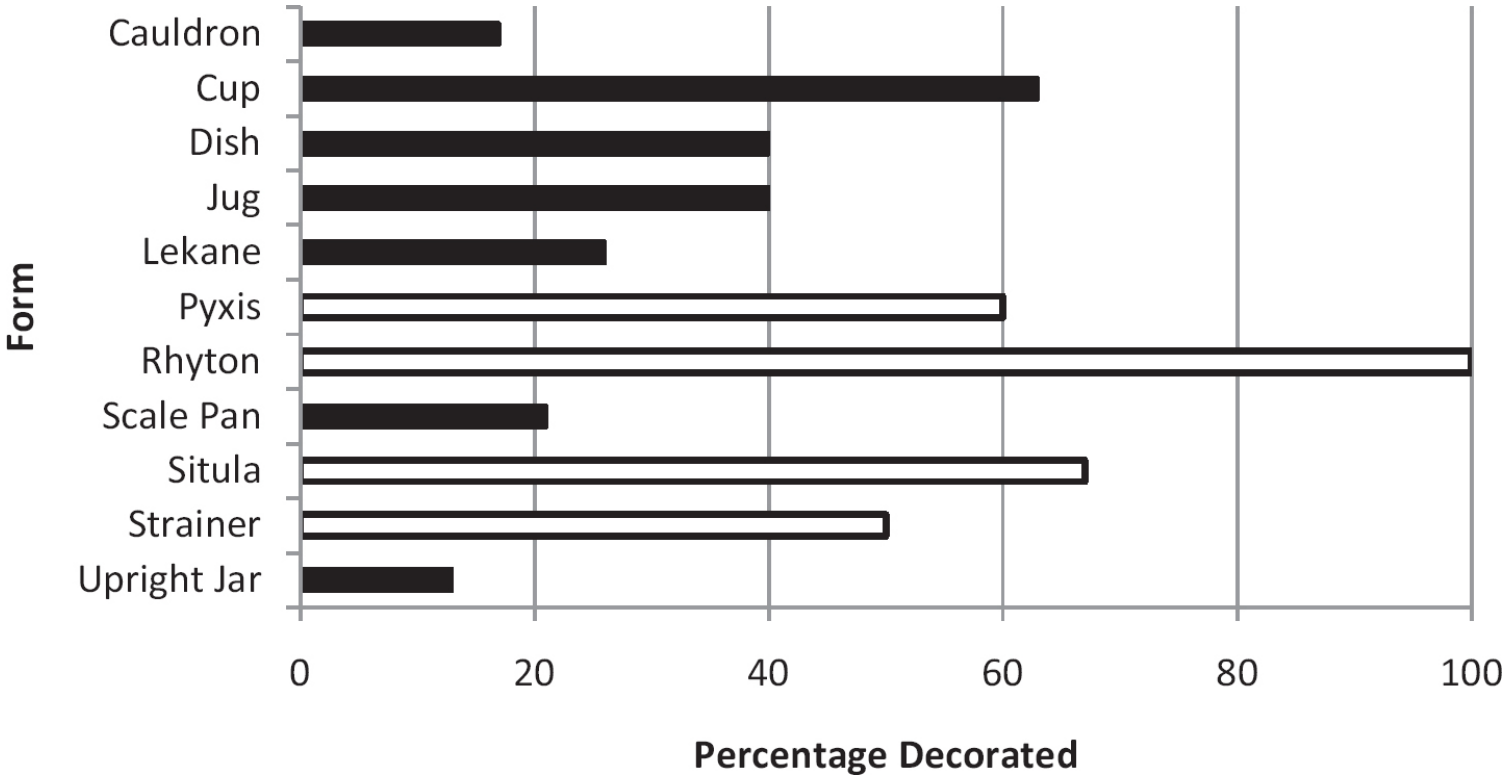

Figure 10.1: The percentage of all vessels in each category of form with ornamentation. White bars indicate shapes for which fewer than ten examples are present in this dataset. Poor preservation means some undecorated fragments may have originally derived from decorated vessels, therefore the figures given should be considered as minimums.

Decoration and vessel form

There are strong links between the application of decoration and vessel shape, as summarised in Figure 10.1. The categories for shapes used in this graph are taken from the typology devised for my doctoral thesis.

Of the categories with ten or more known examples, cups were most likely to have ornamentation; decorated dishes and jugs were also relatively common. This suggests contexts of use involving the physical actions of pouring, drinking and perhaps food service were emphasised through the decoration of these vessels. This accords well with

the impression generated by recent analysis that ritualised consumption activities, or feasts, were important in Mycenaean societies (cf. Bendall 2004; Shelmerdine 2008). A high proportion of several rarer forms within the metal corpus, such as the *pyxides* and *rhyta*, were also decorated. This may indicate that the occasional inclusion of metal vessels in such contexts of use was particularly stressed through exaggerated evocation of the senses.

There are many forms only infrequently ornamented; it is possible that, whilst fulfilling the same basic functions, certain specimens were destined for use within more prestigious contexts, such as those involving public arenas, religious significance or grand personages. There are examples in this dataset of some forms, such as ladles and lamps, which were not ornamented at all, perhaps implying these vessels were utilised in quite prosaic conditions.

Placement of decoration

Exploration of how this interaction between vessel ornamentation and human actors took place requires analysis of the placement of decoration. There are two methods by which decoration can be appreciated: visual recognition and physical contact through touch.

To analyse ornament placement, each vessel was divided into zones: base (the underside), body, foot, handle, interior, leg, lid and rim. Embossed decoration will, depending upon the depth of the relief, leave the inverse visible on the vessel, unless covered by a lining. As this analysis focuses on the intended primary viewpoint, the "interior" category is confined to examples where the execution of the ornament demonstrates it was designed to face inwards, and the "base" or "body" to those where it faces outwards. Not all zones were present on every vessel type. Each zone has different characteristics in terms of viewing position, potential audience scale and activeness or passiveness of display, as summarised in Table 10.1. Of course a larger number of interactions were theoretically possible, such as holding a vessel by its body or routinely storing vessels upside-down (cf. discussion of *proper* and *system* functions in Preston 2000). This analysis uses the form of the vessels themselves as a guiding principle for the likely *intended* engagements between user and object, which would have been drawn upon during the crafting process.

In addition to these characteristics, scale plays an important role in visibility, not just in terms of overall vessel size but also the relative differences between zones. Therefore body ornamentation on a small cup may have potentially been evident to a larger audience than if placed on the handles of a large cauldron.

The results of this analysis are shown in Figure 10.2. In general, vessel decoration was most typically placed on the body. As the zone with the greatest surface area, the body is well-suited to communicating decoration to a wider audience and therefore transmitting messages regarding social status. However, allied with the evidence of the types of vessel most likely to receive decoration, it is difficult to argue that such audiences were particularly large, as the small scale of the majority of decorated vessels would have restricted visual interaction with the ornamentation. The handle and rim are also frequently decorated; these two zones are the most strongly associated with physical contact between user and vessel.

Table 10.1: A summary of the differing characteristics for each potential zone of decoration

Zone	*Characteristics*	*Zone*	*Characteristics*
Base	• Usually visible on most forms • Revealed in certain contexts of use	Body	• Visible from many directions • Largest surface area
Foot	• Best viewed at downward angle • Obscured in certain contexts of use	Handle	• Visible from several directions • Obscured in certain contexts of use • Texturally-based interaction
Interior	• Best viewed from above • Revealed in certain contexts of use	Leg	• Best viewed at perpendicular angle • Uncommon zone
Lid	• Best viewed from above • Uncommon zone	Rim	• Best viewed from above • Obscured in certain contexts of use • Texturally-based interaction

The infrequency of decoration on the leg and lid zones is unsurprising, as these areas are relatively uncommon features of metal vessels. Yet, the relative lack of base and interior ornament demonstrates they were deliberately omitted from the decorative scheme. This, along with the popularity of body decoration, suggests the foremost consideration was widening the visual accessibility of the ornamentation. There was no intention to provide the vessel user with any private visual stimulation beyond the ability, if so desired, to examine the decoration at closer quarters than the surrounding audience; however, the frequent ornamentation of the handle and rim gave an opportunity for such individuals to experience the decoration in a manner inaccessible to a wider group: texturally. Therefore an intimate connection between the user and the vessel decoration could be established, which went beyond the visual stimulation enjoyed by the surrounding audience.

This intention could be taken a stage further, through the rare inclusion of “hidden” decoration. Although when a vessel was in use by an individual most handle and rim decoration would be visually obscured, there are

instances of ornamentation placed in such a way as to severely restrict the possibility that it would ever be seen, even by the user. One particular example has a double axe chased into the bottom of the lower strip of a small silver spool handle (Karo 1930, no. 868; NMA 868). This tiny motif, facing downwards, cannot be easily explained as an addition to the overall visual scheme of the vessel, but it is perfectly placed in terms of the intended grasping position for a spool handle (as discussed in Aulsebrook 2012, 228) to provoke textural stimulation. In this case therefore, the user was more likely to first experience this decoration through touch, rather than by sight.

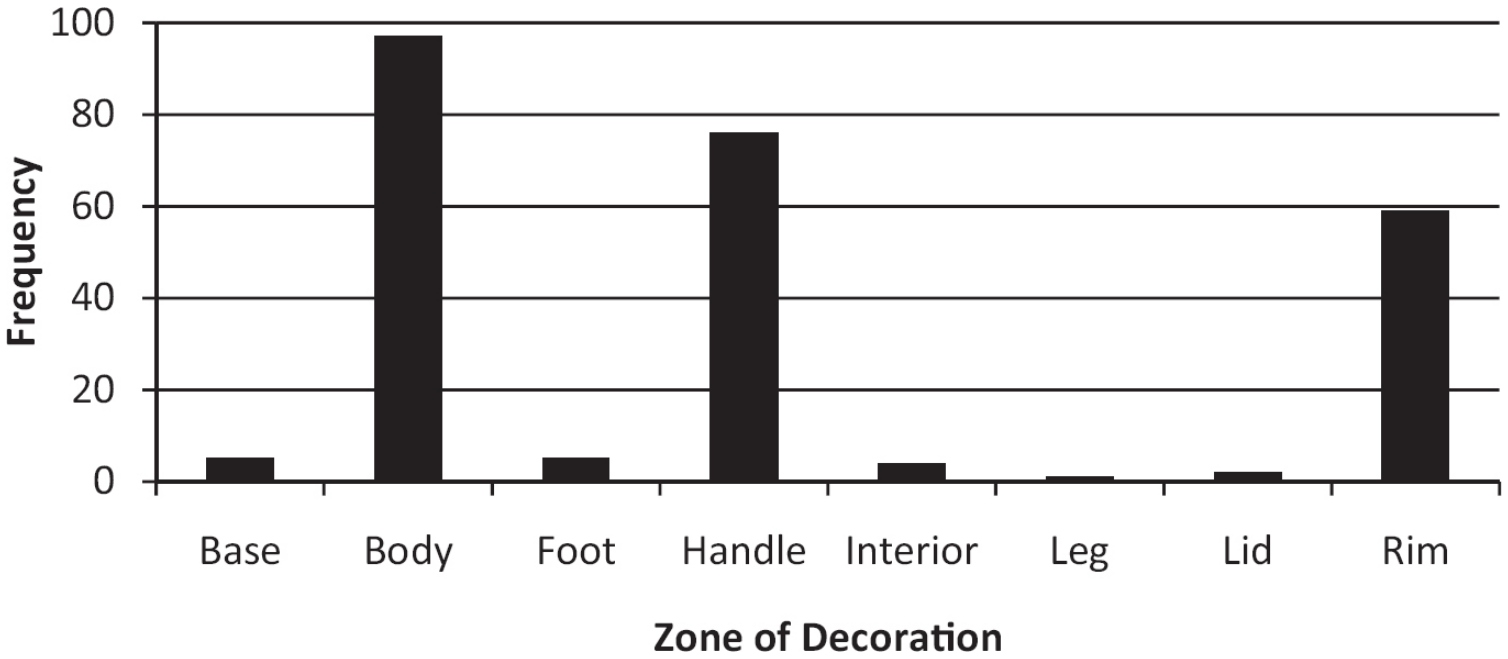

Figure 10.2: The frequency of decoration appearing in each of the potential zones of decoration for all vessels.

Decoration placement and vessel form

Further analysis exploring the number of decorated zones per vessel reveals the placement of ornament was often also closely linked to vessel shape. Although examples with one or two zones of decoration were relatively common, vessels with three or more were very rare and restricted by form. Only two vessels exhibited four ornamented zones; both were gold miniature lidded jars, from graves III and IV of Grave Circle A at Mycenae (Karo 1930, nos 84 and 391; NMA 84 and 391). The small scale of these vessels (NMA 84 – height: 4.2 cm, rim diameter: 2.5 cm; NMA 391 – height: 12.2 cm, rim diameter: 6.5 cm) and impracticality of their handles, would have transformed the experience of their decoration to textural as well as visual. It is likely this influenced the decision to apply ornamentation to so much of their outer surface.

Of the vessels with tri-zonal decoration, the majority belong to three cup forms, whilst the remaining two are highly-ornamented silver vessels unique within this dataset: the siege rhyton (Karo 1930, nos 477, 481; NMA 477, 481) and battle krater (Karo 1930 nos 605–7; NMA 605–7). Analysis of these three cup forms demonstrated they were present throughout this period, consistently manufactured from the most valuable materials, attracted the most complex methods of decoration and demonstrated signs of a high degree of standardisation. Therefore the additional investment of time, skill and resources demanded by tri-zonal decoration was strongly correlated with vessels having particularly recognisable associations with the most potent high-status material culture within the metal vessel repertoire.

Several vessel types have standardised bi-zonal decorative layouts; examples are shown in Figure 10.3.

Their consistency demonstrates that decoration placement was an important element in the design of these shapes. This is particularly evident for the ewer where the shoulder band, which hid an otherwise prominent manufacturing seam, was decorated on all examples in this dataset. The regular occurrence of examples with a standardised decorative layout argues against any suggestion that such vessels were associated with a particular workshop. The use of many different motifs and styles of ornament also implies that standardisation of products was less of a concern than creating standardised pan-sensory experiences of these objects. The decoration placement

was integral to the recognition and usage of such vessels, with its foundations in the expectations of the user and their audience.

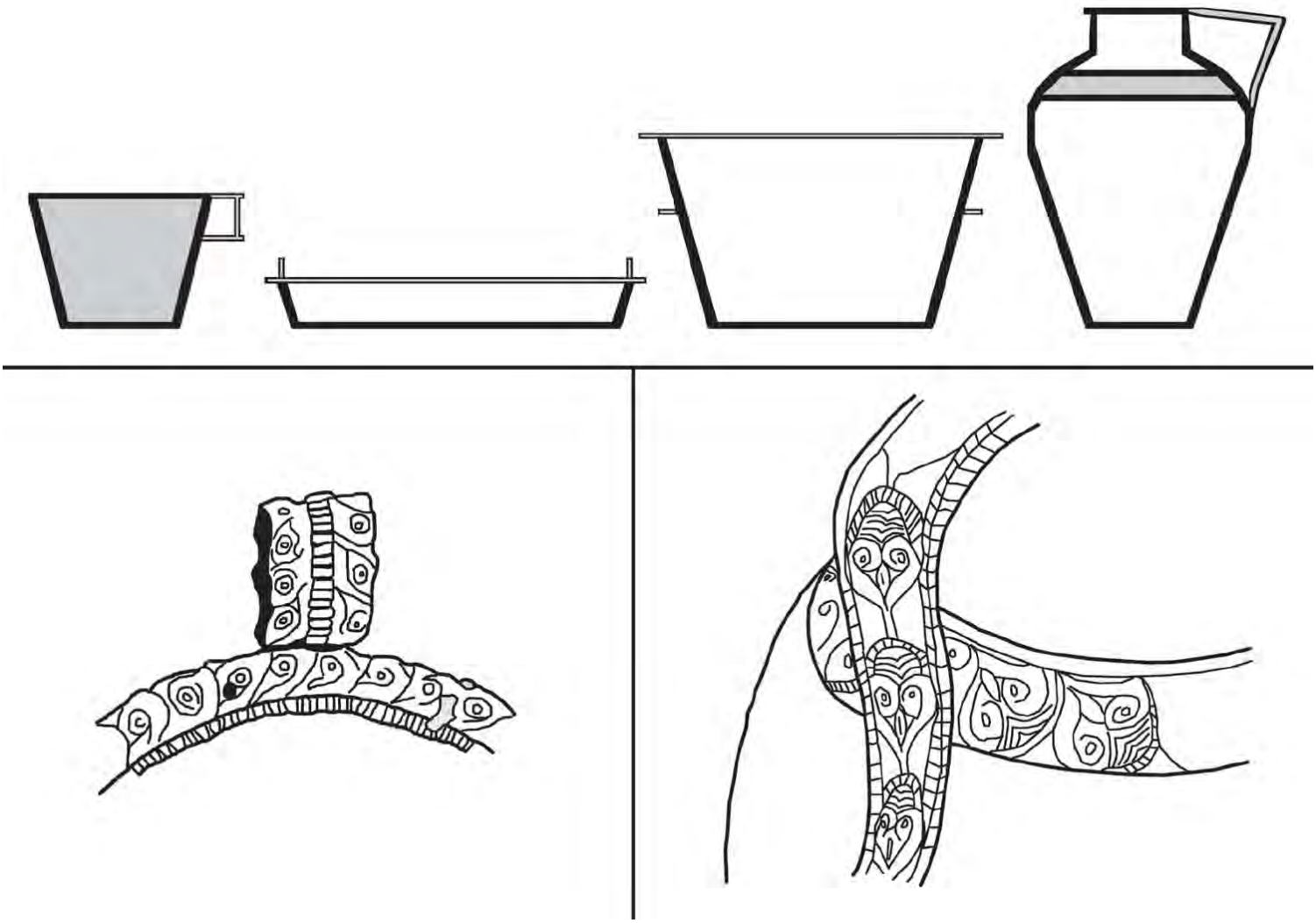

Figure 10.3: Top: four differing vessel shapes that demonstrate standardised bi-zonal decorative schemes. Areas with ornamentation are highlighted in grey. From left to right: Vapheio cup (body and handle), two-handled basin (handle and rim), lekane (handle and rim) and ewer (body and handle); below left: example of handle and rim decoration on a cup; below right: example of body and rim decoration on a ewer.

Interestingly, this correlation between form and decoration placement does not hold true for those with ornamentation solely on the handle. This occurs on eleven vessels only, but across nine different forms. Its placement on some examples rules out its inclusion for textural stimulation, as the decoration is located away from the intended gripping position. For instance, a cauldron from Pylos (Matthäus 1980, no. 22; CM 2199) has decorated handle attachment plates and the ornamental balls on the Skopelos amphora (Matthäus 1980 no. 209; NMA 9089) sit too close to the rim. The decision to decorate the handles alone may have stemmed from time constraints favouring ornamentation of a small but visible feature or a lack of established precedent for certain generally undecorated forms. Tradition is another possibility, particularly for the *situlae*; two of the three extant examples have plastic ornaments sitting at the handle attachments. This association with an unusual decorative form suggests important motivations underlying the choice and placement of this ornamentation.

Conclusion

The concept of pan-sensory experiences helps archaeologists to emphasise how objects were embedded in the lives of past people, through embodied practices. It is the senses that provide the important bridge between the body and the material world, translating and making intelligible encounters between humans and objects. Assessing the placement of decoration on metal vessels within this framework enables greater understanding of how these objects

were intended to be used, seen and appreciated. Two particular trends were highlighted by this study. The evidence from the presence and placement of decoration implies that, in general, the greatest attention was paid to the decoration of small-scale vessels, which would have had the most impact within intimate settings involving a select group of individuals, where the embodied nature of their associated practices was most accentuated. This suggests their decoration was favoured not for transmitting indiscriminate messages of high-status to the populace, but rather to maintain position amongst their elite peers. The majority of decorated metal vessels would then fall squarely within the definition of "high culture" (van Buren and Richards 2000, 4), as a distinct language of material culture comprehensible only to elites with the correct knowledge. Although the exact composition of these social groups may have changed over time, these basic principles of engagement remained unaltered. Social distance between elites and lesser or non-elites was therefore not primarily maintained through the decorative elements of these vessels, but through their other properties such as material, where the importance of embodied practices may have been supplemented to a greater degree by more abstract concepts, such as ownership.

Also, although the aspects of material culture discussed above played an essential role in marking status, these messages were not only directed outwards towards a watching audience, but additionally to the individual using these objects. The pan-sensory experiences for such individuals were deliberately intended as more intense and diverse by creating intimate connections between the user and the vessel, thus implying the effect was even more powerful. Therefore these decorated metal vessels formed part of a separated sphere of material culture in which elite agents were bodily enmeshed: signifying, creating and reinforcing *self* as well as social identity. This generated another dimension of social distance, enabling such individuals to carry out their social roles as elite Mycenaean agents more effectively by acting as a source of entitlement and self-justification for their own motivations, decisions and actions.

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Part III

Ritualised Practice and the Performance of Identities

11

The Performative Body and Social Identity in the Room of the Fresco at Mycenae

Anne P. Chapin

Excavations undertaken in 1968–9 revealed an exceptional fresco *in situ* in the southeast corner of Room 31, a shrine known as the "Room of the Fresco" in the Cult Center at Mycenae (Fig. 11.1). The fresco preserves parts of three female figures, each painted with distinctive costume and attributes: above is the "Sword Bearer," cloaked and holding a sword pointed tip down; and a "Spear Bearer," who wears a flounced skirt and grasps a spear or staff (tip up, but missing). The third figure, the "Adorant", stands on a lower level and raises objects of uncertain identity in votive attitude. The three are gathered about a raised platform decorated like an altar with a beam-end frieze and horns of consecration (Taylour 1969, 95–7, fig. 2, pl. xa; 1970, 274–7; 1983, 55–9). Neither shrine nor fresco is fully published, so interpretation has focused on the identities of the three figures (Taylour 1970; Marinatos 1988; Rehak 1984, 1992; Cameron *et al.* in prep.) and on funerary associations implied by the fresco's iconography and archaeological context (Gallou 2005, 28, 36; Morgan 2005; Burns 2010, 141–3). These analyses presume that the frescoed Room belongs to the later phase of Mycenae's history, when the Cult Center lay inside the citadel and was connected to the palace via the Processional Way and Grand Staircase. Continuing study of the Cult Center, however, indicates that the shrine was built and the fresco painted in Late Helladic (LH) IIIB *before* the western Cyclopean wall was extended to its present perimeter (French 2002, 85; 2010, 675; French and Taylour 2007, 10, fig. 6). This study investigates the Adorant, and secondarily, her companions, through the theoretical lens of the body. Part Two of this investigation, in preparation, explores the fresco in light of the revised understanding of the shrine's extramural archaeological context.

Figure 11.1: The fresco in Room 31 (drawn by author)

Embodied identities

In general terms, a "body" is defined as an organic entity, human or animal, alive or dead; but the word takes on a multitude of secondary meanings that embrace collective identity (*e.g.* a body as a group of individuals), a main part (*e.g.* a body of work), or even a mass of matter (*e.g.* an automobile body). Embodiment occurs when ideas are given concrete, physical form and are made manifest through a body (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). Today, scholarship in a variety of fields, from philosophy to cognitive science, investigates the various intersections and convergences between the body (corporeality) and the mind (the realm of ideas), or between "nature" and "culture". For archaeologists, excavated material offers fertile ground for the study of the body as a vehicle for embodiment (Hamilakis *et al.* 2002; Fisher and Loren 2003), but linking embodiment theory with archaeological evidence can be problematic. Richard Lesure (2005) argues that where anthropomorphic imagery is concerned, traditional art historical methods – particularly the stylistic and iconographic analysis of excavated art and artefacts – offer a middle ground for effectively connecting theory with data.

Just as embodiment occurs when ideas are manifested through a lived body, art is produced when thought is expressed in material form. This notion, perhaps obvious, is sometimes overlooked when representational art is understood as faithful to appearance. In point of fact, art never holds a completely objective mirror to the physical world (Gombrich 1960). For instance, to represent a human being, an artist will select materials, decide on a composition, fashion a figure, and present it in a social context. Each stage of art-making involves training, practice, knowledge, and skill. Decisions are made at every point in the process and range from solving technical problems (*e.g.* how to use the materials) and deciding what to show (subject matter and iconography) to how to form the figure (artistic style). These choices in turn are shaped by a variety of influences ranging from the artist's own personal vision for the art work and the artistic practices of the time, to the function of the art and its intended reception by its anticipated audience. Artist and audience alike, moreover, are influenced by a myriad of intersecting

cultural, political, economic, material, and environmental factors that typically reach far beyond the actual time and place an art work is produced and received.

The fresco preserved in Room 31 at Mycenae, then, does not offer a "true" – that is, objective – representation of three female bodies, but rather, one that was imagined, created and presented to the viewer(s) after considerable thought and action. The fresco offers evidence for how Mycenaeans depicted themselves through details of dress (clothing, hairstyle, jewellery and accessories), attribute, gesture, and body position. These iconographic features were used differently for each of the three figures to give physical form to Mycenaean notions of identity as communicated through the dressed body. And because these bodies are artistic creations, they can be examined through the traditional art historical tools of iconographic and stylistic analysis (Lesure 2005). What follows is an overview of the shrine and its contents, followed by a detailed investigation into the iconography of the Adorant for the purpose of investigating the construction of this figure's individualised identity through dress, attribute, body position, and gesture.

Room 31

Room 31 is identified as a shrine based on the fresco's sacred iconography, the presence of the platform, and the Room's distinctive architectural features and furniture, which include an oval central hearth, a clay larnax, and passage into Room 32, the "Room of the Ivories". The platform's painted beam-end frieze and horns of consecration recall depictions of Minoan altars, such as that painted on Side B of the Late Minoan (LM) IIIA sarcophagus from Ayia Triada, Crete (Immerwahr 1990, pl. 51). Three discs raised on the platform's top surface contained traces of ash, which suggests that they functioned as miniature hearths for burnt offerings (Taylour 1969, 95) and that the platform served as a focusing device for ritual (Rehak 1992, 43). Notable finds include two faience plaque fragments of Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III (ruled *c*. 1391–1353 BC) and precious items made of ivory: a male head belonging to a composite statue, a couchant lion, and a sword pommel (Krzyszkowska 2007, 16–25, 29, pls 1–4, 6a). The find spot of the ivory head implies that it was displayed on the platform, perhaps as a cult statue or a votary (Krzyszkowska 2007, 21–5).

The costumes of the three female figures, individualised though they are, find ready parallels in Aegean iconography. The fringed robe of the Sword Bearer resembles that of La Parisienne from Knossos (Taylour 1970, 276; Immerwahr 1990, pl. 44), while the Staff Bearer wears a traditional Minoan-style flounced skirt. The large scale of these figures and their placement directly over the platform suggest that this portion of the fresco represents Mycenaean deities (Taylour 1969, 94–5). It is not possible, however, to identify either figure with names preserved on Linear B tablets, including those of Greek deities better known from the Classical era. Paul Rehak (1984, 540) suggested that the Sword Bearer is a warrior goddess and compared her pole-bearing companion to the "peak goddess" of Minoan art, though such identifications remain tentative (Blakolmer 2010, 30). Between them, two small, nude male figures stretch out their arms to the Sword Bearer. Without parallel in Aegean painting, their meaning remains uncertain, though identifications as souls or spirits (Marinatos 1988, 248; Immerwahr 1990, 121; Gallou 2005, 36–8) or votaries/offering bearers (Rehak 1984, 540–1; 1992, 48–9) have been put forward.

Behind the Sword Bearer is a painted doorway framed in rosettes (only its lower portion is preserved). This design recalls the frescoed entrances of some notable chamber tombs, including one at Mycenae painted with rosettes (Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 61, fig. 16). The fictive door is situated above a low, rounded step or platform and the figure of the Adorant. Smaller in scale than the other two figures, she raises red, flame-like/leaf-shaped objects towards the painted platform in a votive attitude. Lord William Taylour (1983, 56) identified the offerings as sheaves of wheat, which suggests a connection with *sitōn potnia* (*si-to-po-ti-ni-ja*, "lady of the grain"), a name appearing on a Linear B tablet from the nearby Citadel House at Mycenae (MY 321 = Oi 701; Chadwick 1973, 506–7). Recently, Brendan Burke (2012, 175–6) alternately proposed that the objects are Mediterranean fan shells (*Pinna nobilis*), marine molluscs known for producing fine fibers of sea silk. Both suggestions are intriguing, but the schematic rendering of the offerings hinders certain identification.

Taylour (1969, 97) first saw the Adorant as "a royal priestess offering the fruits of the earth to the goddess," but then, in light of the attendant animal (preserved by the yellow tip of its tail and two feet), he identified a goddess of lesser rank accompanied by a hybrid creature with a lion's tail and goat/calf hooves (Taylour 1970, 276–7).

Cleaning and conservation revealed that the animal has paws rather than hooves, and Nannó Marinatos (1988, 246) saw in them a winged griffin in flight. For Marinatos, the Adorant's offertory gesture and subsidiary position identify her as a priestess. Rehak (1992, 54–7, pl. xviiia), however, pointed to the yellow colour and restored a lion, which he saw as guarding a goddess. This investigation explores a third possibility – a variant of the others, but one that has not yet been explored in scholarship – that the Adorant could represent a high-ranking priestess accompanied by a lion.

The Adorant revisited

The Adorant is only partially preserved, but details of her costume are clear: she wears a plumed cap, a seal-stone bracelet, a short-sleeved garment, and a mantle knotted over her right shoulder. Rehak (1992, 51–2) pointed out numerous comparisons for the plumed cap, which is worn by sphinxes, priestly figures, and some processional figures. The seal, worn on the wrist as a bracelet, suggests participation in bureaucratic affairs and perhaps a connection with the divine (Younger 1977, 147–8). The one-shouldered mantle finds parallels in Aegean images of priestly figures, such as the "Priestess" from the West House frescoes on Thera (Doumas 1992, pls 24–5; Chapin 2008, 66–7, figs 2–5). The iconography of costume, therefore, supports Marinatos's (1988, 246) proposal that the figure has a mortal, priestly identity, an interpretation which Marinatos offered primarily based upon the Adorant's gesture and her subsidiary position within the composition.

The Adorant is accompanied by the yellow animal preserved only by its tail and forepaws; the body, head, and hind legs are missing (Fig. 11.1). For Marinatos (1988, 246), the raised forelegs indicate a winged griffin in flight. A colour drawing of the fresco with a flying yellow griffin was produced (French 2002, pl. 12) and has received some acceptance (*e.g*. Morgan 2005, 170; Lupack 2010, 266). Rehak (1992, 54–7), however, argued for a leonine identification based on the observation that Aegean griffins are typically white (with coloured embellishments on wings and neck), whereas lions are always yellow.

Rehak's survey of griffin and lion iconography in Aegean art is comprehensive, and it is suggested here that his underlying point is easily demonstrated by fresco programs which include both creatures. From the Neopalatial era, Room 5 of the West House at Akrotiri (Thera) preserves a white-bodied griffin with blue and yellow wings (east frieze, Nilotic Fresco) and a yellow lion pursuing deer (south frieze, Flotilla Fresco; Morgan 1988, 44–54; Doumas 1992, pls 32, 36). In the Mycenaean era, a white (wingless) griffin crouches beside a yellow/tan lion in the LH IIIB throne room at Pylos (Lang 1969, 110–1 [20ab C 6], pl. 53). Even Aegean-style paintings found abroad observe this colour distinction: a Hunt Frieze found recently at Tell el-Dab'a (Egypt) preserves a griffin with a white head, paws and tail (Morgan 2010), and tawny yellow lions (Marinatos 2010). Presumably a colour convention called for Aegean-style griffins to be white, whereas lions are yellow. Exceptions are rare, and include the white-headed, mauve-bodied griffins crouching beside yellow felines at Pylos in Hall 46 (Lang 1969, 111–2 [21 C 46], pl. P), and a confusing rendering of one or two griffins pulling a chariot on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (Immerwahr 1990, pl. 53), in which the griffin has a white body and tail but yellow insides to its far legs (?).[1]

In sum, griffins with yellow bodies, tails, and paws remain unknown to Aegean painting. Analysis of present evidence therefore makes it highly unlikely that the animal attending the Adorant is a griffin. Rather, a lion is indicated, as argued by Rehak. This investigation therefore proceeds from the premise that the fresco depicts a priestly woman accompanied by a lion (Fig. 11.2).

Lion iconography and elite identity

Art is conceptual and does not function as a faithful mirror of the world. Instead, certain pictorial elements are selected for representation, while others are ignored. The attendant lion was chosen purposefully as a significant attribute of the Adorant's identity. It has often been observed that lions dominate the iconography of Mycenae, from the hunting scenes of the LH I–II Shaft Grave period found on inlaid daggers, rings, and other artworks, to the emblematic images of lions in LH IIIB – particularly the heraldic lions carved on the Lion Gate at Mycenae as symbolic guardians of the citadel, its palace, and royal house. The naturalistic detail of this lion imagery probably reflects actual encounters with real lions, and while it is possible that Mycenaean artists depicted exotic beasts

imported from abroad, it is not necessary to posit such a scenario. Nancy Thomas has catalogued 102 lion bones from 38 sites in Greece and southeastern Europe ranging in date from the Neolithic through Hellenistic eras (2004). The presence of lion bones in Neolithic contexts suggests that an indigenous population of lions once lived in the Balkan peninsula. That this population still survived in the Argolid during the Late Helladic period is suggested by a pierced lion's tooth from Mycenae and six lion bones found at Tiryns (Thomas 2004, 189–93; 2014). Presumably, as Bronze Age Balkan lion populations were hunted towards extinction, their status shifted from "threat" to the prestige animal of LH IIIB art. This evidence raises the possibility that the fresco could depict a scene from prehistory: a Mycenaean priestess accompanied by a real (captive) lion.

Lions symbolise power and authority, both royal and divine, in many cultures, not just Mycenaean. In ancient Egypt, lions were associated with kingship perhaps as early as the Late Predynastic period, *c*. 3100 BC (Houlihan 1996, 91). In the First Dynasty, King Aha's burial at Abydos included seven (mostly young) lions which evidently had been born and raised in captivity. It would seem that at this early date, the royal Egyptian household kept lions in their entourage (Boessneck and von den Driesch 1990; but see now van Neer *et al.* 2013 for re-identification of the bones as possibly leopard). Early Dynastic gaming pieces were sometimes sculpted as collared lions (*e.g.* the ivory game piece carved in the shape of a lioness, located in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, MD, no. 71.623; art.thewalters.org/detail/37902; Houlihan 1996, 91). Much later, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, King Tutankhamun (ruled *c*. 1334–1325 BC) was depicted with a collared lioness by his side on the small golden shrine from his tomb (Reeves 1990, 141), and even later still, in the Hellenistic era, a mummified lion was buried in the tomb of Tutankhamun's wet nurse, Maïa, at Saqqara (Callou *et al.* 2004). Contemporary with the Cult Center at Mycenae, Ramesses II brought his pet lion to battle the Hittites at Qadesh (Diodorus Siculus 1.48), and the pharaoh is accompanied by a lion as he drives a chariot against Nubians in a relief from the small temple at Abu Simbel (below, Fig. 11.3; MacQuitty 1965, 114). Interestingly, this lion's leaping pose is nearly identical to that restored by Rehak (1992, pl. xviiia; above, Fig. 11.2) to the Mycenaean beast in Room 31. At Beit al-Wali in Lower Nubia, Ramesses is depicted with a lion named "He Who Slays His Enemies," crouching beside his throne (Ricke *et al.* 1967, 16, pl. 15). This lion's pose compares closely to that of the couchant ivory lion found in the shrine (Krzyszkowska 2007, 20–5, pls 3–4). In the Egyptian images, the lion appears with the pharaoh as a significant element of the king's bodily adornment, like a crown or a false beard. The attendant lion clearly functions as symbol and embodiment of royal power.

Figure 11.2: The Adorant restored with a lion (after Rehak 1992, pl. xviiia, courtesy of John G. Younger)

The lion appears in a similar fashion in Room 31– as guardian creature, as an attribute of power, and as an active component of the Adorant's bodily adornment on a par with her plumed headdress, mantle, and seal stone bracelet. If, then, we read the lion in the same way, then its occurrence beside the Adorant could signify that we, the viewers, are in the presence not just of a priestess, but a member of the Mycenaean elite – presumably, a female member of the royal family. It is tempting to suggest that the figure depicts a queen, but impossible to supply firm evidence. References to rulership are rare in the Linear B tablets. The noun *wanax* (from *wa-na-ka*, meaning "lord" or "master") appears fewer than twenty times in surviving Linear B texts (Shelmerdine 2008, 127–9), and **wanassa*, or "queen," does not appear at all, so there is little in surviving documentary evidence to infer Mycenaean queenly authority (Palaima, pers. comm.; but see Lupack (2014) for an interpretation of offerings recorded in Linear B tablets from Pylos (Fr series) as evidence for the worship of a divinised ancestral *wanax* and his wife or mother).

Figure 11.3: Ramesses II with his lion, Small Temple, Abu Simbel (photograph by author)

Moreover, the iconography of elite women in Aegean art is notoriously ambiguous, and like many images, the fresco in Room 31 (perhaps intentionally?) blurs the distinction between mortal and divine. The offering gesture and priestly costume indicate a human identity, but the three offering bowls and the low rounded base below the figure suggest that the Adorant too received offerings, and this is why Rehak (1992) identified her as one of a triad of divinities. But must these interpretations be mutually exclusive? Or can a new reading of the fresco resolve these apparent contradictions?

As seen in Figure 11.1, the Adorant raises her hands in offering before the platform, which projects into the interior space of the shrine and was painted to look like an altar. From shared medium (fresco) and contiguous space, it can be inferred that the platform/altar comprises a three-dimensional fresco where shrine furniture (the altar) and wall surface both play compositional roles. The two larger female figures, the Sword Bearer and the Staff Bearer, are painted immediately above and behind the platform, which gives the appearance that they stand on the altar; this placement supports their identification as deities. The altar itself thus provides the link between the Adorant and the deities and binds them into a single iconographic program. Accordingly, the Adorant presents her gifts to the altar *and* to the divinities standing over it.

The Sword Bearer and Staff Bearer are painted about twice the scale of the Adorant. This compositional device is known as symbolic size and it is used by artists around the world to denote the relative importance of various figures. The three figures are also arranged in two registers. Aegean painting does not often combine registers with symbolic scale, but these compositional devices do occur together frequently in Egyptian art. And so too does the gesture of offering. In one contemporary example, Queen Nefertari, great wife of Ramesses II, offers gifts to deities in her temple at Abu Simbel (Fig. 11.4). Though the votive gesture is not exactly the same – Nefertari raises both hands before her, whereas the Adorant extends arms to either side – the comparison is apt. Indeed, the Adorant's pose is closer to that of Nefertari, and to the standard Egyptian compositional formula for royal offerings to the gods, than it is to Aegean offertory scenes, such as on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, or to Mycenaean procession frescoes (*e.g.* Immerwahr 1990, pls 50–1, 55–7).

It looks, then, like the Mycenaean artist borrowed certain Egyptianising features of style (symbolic size, registers; see also Rehak 1992, 61), together with an Egyptianising compositional formula for royal offerings to the gods, and adapted them to the Mycenaean artistic idiom to create something new – an internationalising composition whose combination of pictorial elements remains unique in the Aegean painting repertoire. As such, the fresco suggests connectivity with the intercultural environment of the eastern Mediterranean in the Late Bronze Age. More specifically, the Adorant's lion iconography identifies her with both the traditional symbols of power at Mycenae and with contemporary, internationalising, royal fashion for keeping tame lions as attributes of rulership, particularly as practiced by Ramesses II.

Figure 11.4: Nefertari presenting offerings to Khnum, Satis and Anuket, Small Temple, Abu Simbel (photograph by author)

Like Ramesses and Nefertari (and many other Egyptian rulers), the Adorant presents her offerings to deities. This sacred communion with the divine identifies her as a person of elite social status who interacts with supernatural powers and, in turn, is sanctioned by them. Yet the low step and the three ash-filled disks on the painted platform imply that the Adorant, like the two deities, also received offerings. This apparent contradiction is resolved when the Adorant is understood as a priestess of elite (royal?) social status who honoured the gods and was herself also the object of veneration. Such a reading explains the size disparity among the painted figures (the Adorant, as elite human, is less important than the deities) and, intriguingly, hints at ruler cult.

Embodied identity in the Room of the Fresco

The characterisation of three figures as separate female identities in Room 31 stands in sharp contrast to the more familiar, but rather generic, images of women in procession frescoes from Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, and Thebes (Immerwahr 1990, 114–8, pls xxi, 55–7). In the procession frescoes, overall uniformity in dress, ornamentation, body posture, and gesture establish group or corporate membership at the expense of individualisation (only minor differences in dress and attribute distinguish one figure from another). Likewise, in some of the best known works of Minoan art, such as the LM I Grandstand and Sacred Grove and Dance Frescoes from the palace at Knossos (Immerwahr 1990, 63–6, pls 22–3), similarities of dress, hairstyle, and body position among female figures emphasize membership in social groups, so that no single figure stands out from the others (Chapin 2011, 507–16). Indeed, Aegean art as a whole is characterised by a persistent anonymity among its many assorted characters,

including the members of its presumed ruling class.

But the fresco programme of Room 31 is different. Here, discrete identities are created for the three female figures through careful differentiations of costume, attribute, posture, and gesture. The body of the Adorant is dressed and positioned in such a way that it manifests elite social status and a privileged relationship with the divine. The lion attribute supports a close association with power and rulership at Mycenae and abroad. The two larger female figures, the Sword Bearer and the Spear Bearer, are also awarded distinctive identities through costume and attribute. Their placement directly over the altar, where ash-filled disks were found, suggests veneration by visitors to the shrine and implies that, for ancient Mycenaeans, these figures embodied concepts of divine power. An investigation of iconography and style, then, indicates how elite identities – both human and divine – were constructed in the House of the Fresco at Mycenae through attributes associated with the body. In this small shrine, prehistoric ideas about the relationship between mortal and immortal realms were given visual form and naturalised through art. The shrine of Room 31, then, offered a stage for the materialisation and codification of Mycenaean thought and belief, with the three painted female figures as its central actors and the people of Mycenae as its audience.

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Note

1 Unfortunately this image is difficult to read. The nearer – and clearer – griffin is white-bodied. Presumably the second animal is depicted (inconsistently) in Egyptian double-outline style, but the contours are problematic. There seems to be only one pair of reins.

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12

"It's War, not a Dance": Polarising Embodied Identities in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean from the End of the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, 1200–700 BC

Manolis Mikrakis

Introduction

After the epochal collapse of state-level societies at the end of the Bronze Age, most of the eastern Mediterranean experienced new forms of statehood for which new social identities were essential. The old system's failure to prevent disaster would have discredited earlier ideologies defining personal achievement and social status through reference to the supernatural (for the Aegean, see Mikrakis 2013, 229–30, with references). Practices revolving around the human body, the handiest tool for survival in periods of hardship such as in the so-called Dark Age that followed the collapse, would have increased sharply, causing tensions and conflicts.

In the present paper, it is argued that in the Early Iron Age (EIA), the increasing assignment of social, cultural and ethical value to embodied practices such as eating and drinking, dancing and music-making marked the emergence of new elite groups in the Eastern Mediterranean and that contrasting representations of feasting and warfare or feasting and religion reflect the social tensions and ideological conflicts that punctuated the path to an entirely new socio-political order. In Greece, this new order took the form of the *polis*. The social identities discussed here appear in their consolidated form in the Classical period (*c*. 500–336 BC), when the civic ideal of *kalokagathia*, the blend of somatic, aesthetic and ethical qualities, became an essential prerequisite for participation in the social life of a city and the defence of its territorial and constitutional integrity. Singing and playing the lyre was often featured as a token of manliness (*andreia*), temperance or moderation (*sōphrosynē*) and justice (*dikaiosynē*). Political and military leaders, such as Themistocles and Kimon, had to explain why their notorious lack of musical skills (*amousia*) would not affect their ability to run a city-state or its army (Harmon 2003; Wilson 2004, 299–300; Mikrakis 2015, 277–9; on *amousia* and its broader implications in Greek thought, see also Halliwell 2012).

The approach employed in this paper benefits from a rapidly growing branch of anthropological and sociological research on the senses and their role in perceiving and shaping the world and the self (*e.g*. Smith 2007; Hamilakis 2013). A "sensory turn" in archaeology can be observed in recent studies of feasting (*e.g*. Gosden and Hather 1999; Dietler and Hayden 2001; Wright 2004; Fox 2012; Węcowski 2014) and in the dynamic new field of music archaeology (*e.g*. Mikrakis 2006; Boivin *et al*. 2007; Eichmann *et al*. 2012).

Make war, ***not*** music

The earliest available written evidence for a social identity that combines performing skills and martial prowess is a mid-7th century poetic fragment by Archilochus (fr. 1 W), in which the literary first person boasts being both an expert in warfare and in the arts over which the Muses presided (*mousikē*, which included poetry, instrumental music, song and dance). Because poetry of that type was performed publicly, the literary first person might represent a stock character (cf. Kurke 2007, 143–5) with which any member of the social elite could identify. Amateur performance on the lyre occurred rather frequently among the social elites in Archaic Greece (West 1992, 25–6; Scheithauer 1996, 14). For Denys Page (1964, 134), this manner of self-representation constituted a "social revolution" against the clear-cut distinction between warriors and bards in the Homeric epics. Recent reassessments of Archilochian ethics detect much more continuity with Homeric values but do not deny the significance of discontinuities (Swift 2012, 153).

In the world of Homer, music is an "indispensable gift of a feast" (*Odyssey*, 1.152; 21.430). Together with eating and drinking, body movement and beauty maintenance, sport and sexuality, music constitutes the other pole of honourable warriorhood (Mikrakis 2015, 283). Hector mocks his brother's "lyre and love-tricks, comely locks and fair favour" because they are useless in battle, and he does so precisely when Paris violates Iliadic definitions of manhood by fleeing from battle to avoid the terrifying Menelaos (*Iliad*, 3.55–6; see also Bassi 2003, 33; Swift 2012, 147–8). In the same Iliadic spirit, "it is not a dance" to which Hector invites his men on the battlefield – as Ajax warns his companions (*Il*. 15.506–8) – "but a combat". Paris, however, seems after the battle "as if he is going to a dance or as if he has just come back from one" (*Il*. 3.393–4). Scorn for similar practices is also expressed in Priam's outburst of grief and fury in *Iliad* 24, when he laments his virtuous dead sons in sharp contrast to his living sons, describing the latter in one breath as "disgraceful things", "liars", "dancers", and "robbers of livestock" (an allusion to eating) (*Il*. 24.257–62). The suitors of Penelope are also subjected to condemnation and punishment, one of the reasons for this verdict being that lyre and song are their primary interests (*Od*. 1.159). Bards may enjoy esteem and respect, but they clearly belong together with artisans to the lower-status *demioergoi*, "workers of the people" (*Od*. 17.383–5).

This bewilderment of the literary Homeric world against sympotic practices shows that a high-status lifestyle that included both warfare and the active performance of music did not yet characterise that world. The Iliadic episode of Achilles sitting in his tent, strumming a lyre and singing "the glorious deeds of men" (*klea andrōn*, *Il*. 9.185–91) does not suggest the contrary. Achilles is playing the lyre during his stubborn withdrawal from battle just as Odysseus orders music, song and dance after killing the suitors to signify "non-war" to the outside world (*Od*. 23.133–51). Thus, it is the polarity between music and warfare that is again exploited. Moreover, Achilles is "delighting his heart" (*Il*. 9.186) rather than an audience, which evokes the mystic aura of a healing ceremony against depression. Achilles himself is not merely a mortal hero whose defining activities revolve around war (Graziosi and Haubold 2003, 70); he is a demi-god who learned medicine from the centaur Chiron (*Il*. 11.830–2) – in addition to music, according to later sources. Magical-therapeutic usages of music are referred to in the Homeric epics (*Od*. 19.392ff.). Additional otherworldly figures, such as Circe (*Od*. 10.254–5) and the Sirens (*Od*. 12.182–92), also engage in singing.

In brief, musicality denotes Achilles' separateness from – and superiority to – the circle of mortal elite warriors, "defin[ing] his own happiness apart from the mediating structures of warrior society" (Hammer 2002, 96; *cf*. Farenga 2006, 87). A similar distancing is achieved by representing the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey* as lovers of music, dance and banquet (*Od*. 8. 246–9). The Phaeacians are the archetypal "otherworldly ferrymen" (Cook 1992) who play a crucial mediating role between the fabulous and the earthly realms, a role that has much in common with the role of the Homeric bards as mouthpieces of the Muses.

The poems that have come down to us in written form under the name of Homer pose well-known difficulties as sources of historical information; nevertheless, the following hypothesis may yet be advanced: Homeric attitudes towards embodied practices of the *symposion* reflect ideological tensions that emerged in the aftermath of the socio-political collapse at the end of the Bronze Age. In EIA Greece and Cyprus, similar tensions would have punctuated the path to the *polis* and the city-kingdoms, respectively (for Athens, see Mikrakis 2015; for Cyprus, see Mikrakis 2012). In the remainder of this paper, this hypothesis will be tested against archaeological data.

Make war *and* music

A major shift in attitudes surrounding embodied practices as indicators of social status can be observed in the material and visual record of late 8th century Athens (Mikrakis 2015). Until the end of the Middle Geometric II (*c*. 760 BC), burials with weapons were the norm for the male elite; from the Late Geometric (LG) I onward, offering weapons to the dead underwent a drastic decline (Whitley 1991, 183, table 11; 2001, 187–8; Bräuning 1995, 28, histogram 1; van Wees 1998, esp. 338–43), while the new medium of figural drawing on monumental amphorae and kraters that were set up as grave markers was emerging, giving warrior imagery the opportunity to flourish (Ahlberg 1971a; 1971b). An even more radical change occurred at the transition from the LG I to the LG II (*c*. 730 BC), when monumental amphorae and kraters with their warlike imagery were entirely abandoned in favour of smaller banquet vessels with implicit Near Eastern affinities and figural decoration that featured festive scenes (Figs 12.1–4) (Coldstream 1977, 119, 362–5, fig. 37b; Rombos 1988; see recently, Haug 2012, 119–28, 423–6). In parallel to this change, a novel funerary practice was introduced in Athens that brought the symbolism of feasting to the funeral: the intentional burning of miniature, non-utilitarian sets of banquet vessels and figurines over offering trenches cut near graves (for the earliest *Opferrinnen* dating to the LG II, see Young 1939, 55–67; Kübler 1954, 32–3).

This shift from an emphasis on war to an emphasis on feasting is not confined to Athens. Geometric tombs found in the Argolid and Euboea contained armour, weapons, spits and firedogs (Coldstream 1977, 146–8, fig. 47; Courbin 1983; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1998, 84, no. 104, figs 40:3, 44:44). The so-called Panoply Grave (Tomb 45) in Argos contained a helmet, a complete cuirass, a pair of double axes and perhaps a pair of greaves, but also 12 spits, a pair of firedogs, an amphora, two skyphoi decorated with horses, five cups and a krater bearing scenes of dancing women (Courbin 1957). Tokens of martial and sympotic prowess rarely reach such levels of luxury, but the occurrence of banquet vessels in other Argive LG warrior graves is not uncommon.

Figure 12.1: Attic LG IIa pitcher, front view. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 17497 (photograph courtesy of Athens, National Archaeological Museum).

Figure 12.2: Attic LG IIb pitcher, detail of shoulder panel. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities 9367 (photograph courtesy of Athens, National Archaeological Museum).

Figure 12.3: Attic LG IIa bowl, interior view. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 874 (photograph courtesy of Athens, National Archaeological Museum).

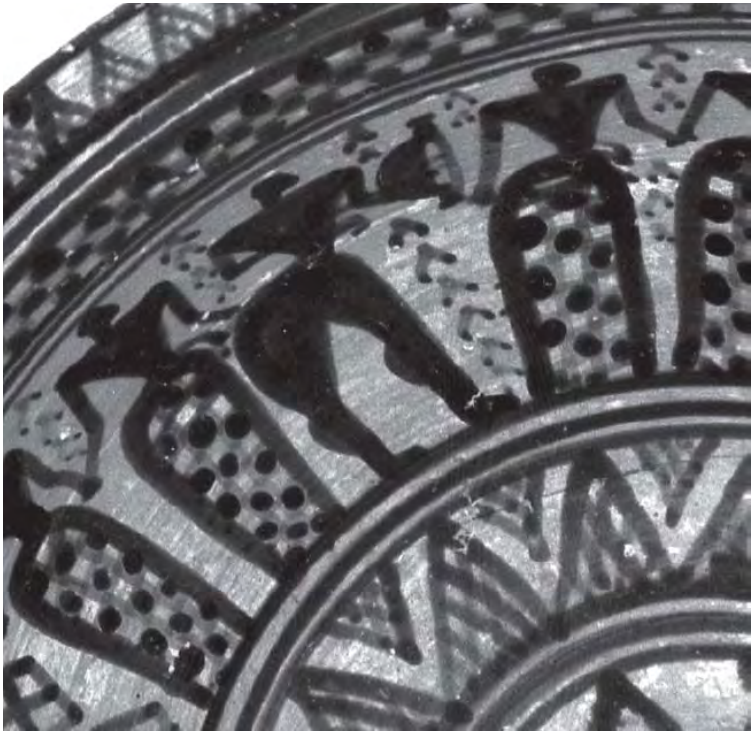

Figure 12.4: Detail of Figure 12.3 (photograph courtesy of Athens, National Archaeological Museum).

Burials that present male adults as both warriors and banqueters are well represented in Greece from the mid-10th century onward. The most suggestive example is the princely warrior burial with horses, weapons and kraters under the so-called Heroön of Lefkandi (Popham *et al.* 1993; Whitley 2002, 225; Lemos 2007; Fox 2012, 72–4). From the 11th until the 7th century BC, elevated warrior graves in Crete were furnished with swords, spearheads, shields and knives, but also with feasting equipment, such as bronze cauldrons, Cypriot-influenced stands, bowls, roasting spits and firedogs (Catling 1995; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 191–5; Snodgrass 1996; Hoffman 1997, 141–6; Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998, 231ff., 258–9; Whitley 2002, 223–4; Fox 2012, 77–8). A common type of firedog from Geometric tombs in the Aegean that is also well represented in Cyprus, has the shape of a warship, which combines the symbolisms of feasting and fighting. Finally, a bronze grater reminiscent of the Homeric *knēstis* used for grating goat's cheese over Nestor's wine (*Il*. 11.638–40) was found in a 9th century warrior burial in Lefkandi (Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 48:8; Antonaccio 2006, 391–2). The epic theme of cheese grating has been dated to the 9th century on linguistic-metric grounds (West 1998).

Rattle Group images

Returning to the Attic LG II representations of feasting, an important observation made by Erich Kistler (1998, 74–7) is that a certain group among these images, the so-called Rattle Group (Coldstream 1968, 71–2, no. xiii), breaks down the distinction between the participants of the feast and the performers of music. The Rattle Group mostly (but not exclusively) comprises large round-mouthed pitchers used in funerary contexts, possibly as a metonymy for wine rituals (Figs 12.1 and 12.2). The decoration typically features a banquet scene with figures sitting in pairs on opposite sides of a chequered block or a low table and holding gourd-shaped objects. Two-handled drinking vessels are sometimes depicted on the table between the seated figures.

Based on the rich comparative evidence from the entire Mediterranean (Mikrakis 2006, 344–6; Mikrakis 2015, 280–2), these objects are best interpreted as rattles. A gourd-shaped rattle from Osteria dell'Osa near Rome, dated between *c*. 830 and 770 BC (Bietti Sestieri 1992, 768, Tomb 218, no. 5, fig. 3a; Smith 1996, 83–4), and another rattle from a Geometric grave in Eleusis (Skias 1898, 111, fig. 31) are the closest parallels in terms of shape and date. On two pitchers in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, nos 17497 (Fig. 12.1) and 18542 (Karouzou 1954, III H d pl. 12; Ahlberg 1967, 178, nos 6 and 8, pls 2a and 2c; Wegner 1968, 73–4, nos 45–6, figs 1b and 2b–c, pl. iia; Rombos 1988, 286–7, nos 254 and 256, pls 47b, 47f, 49a–b) and on one in Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, no. 9367 (Fig. 12.2) (Hahland 1954, 179, no. 7, pls 16:13 and 17:14; Rombos 1988, 286–7, 480–1, no.

255), the rattles are replaced by or combined with lyres, thus confirming the distinctive musical character of the ceremony. Bowls belonging to the Rattle Group show percussion clappers being played instead of rattles (Aign 1963, 94, no. V/12; Borell 1978, 21–2, no. 79, pl. 11 Beil. B3).

Music in all these images is not performed by professional low-ranking entertainers (such as the bards in the *Odyssey*), but by the participants in the feast. On a bowl in Athens (Figs 12.3 and 12.4), the lyre player himself has a sword on his waist (Karouzou 1954, III H d, pls 10:1–2 and 11; Wegner 1968, 63–4, no. 31, fig. 2a; Borell 1978, 65–6, no. 62, pl. 14:62; Rombos 1988, 498–9, no. 304, pl. 68b; Lesky 2000, 18–9, no. Gr.2; Kleine 2005, 25–31, pl. 2; Mikrakis 2015, 283, figs. 5, 6). Thus, by approximately 730 BC, the Athenian elite seems to have taken musical performance literally into their own hands. They seem to have done the same with dancing, and one of the earliest Greek inscriptions (from *c*. 740 BC) identifies the well-known Dipylon jug on which it was etched as a prize for "whomever of all the dancers dances most gracefully" (Powell 1988).

The process has been described as a shift in elite self-representation from its focus on war (which in its broadest sense might have included piracy, intra-communal armed conflicts and other forms of organised violence) to an emphasis on leisure (Kistler 1998, esp. 61–77) or towards the "domestication of the warrior" (Langdon 2006, 215; 2008a, 234ff.; 2008b, 112; cf. Whitley 2001, 187–8). As representations of warriorhood do not disappear, the process might be better described as the emergence of the ideal of balancing traditional fighting skills with those skills that enabled participation in the *symposion* and the wide range of city festivals and communal events.

Beyond the Greek mainland

The Homeric attacks against sympotic activities recall the religious polemic against the people of Samaria in the 6th Book of Amos (4–7), in which the Samarians are accused of lying upon beds of ivory, eating young rams and cows, singing songs and playing musical instruments, drinking wine and anointing themselves – for practising, in short, what became known in Greece as the *symposion* in a semi-reclining position. Recent studies have placed the introduction of this specific form of feasting into the 8th-century context of Phoenician maritime activity and cultural influence in the Mediterranean (Matthäus 1999; 1999–2000; Karageorghis 2003; 2005, 332–3, figs 18–19; Węcowski 2002, 633–5, figs 17–18, 21, pl. 23c; 2014, 139–59; Baughan 2011, 25–30; Mikrakis 2012, 379–80); the so-called Phoenician bowls from Cyprus (see recently, Matthäus 2008) support this view. Additional evidence suggests that the combination of warlike and sympotic skills was an important feature of male elite identities on this island (Mikrakis 2012; for Cypriot warriors, barbecues and drinking, see also Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012, 194–201), particularly from the 11th century onward, when Cyprus was experiencing the formation of its own states with the emergence of the Cypro-Archaic city-kingdoms.

Additional evidence comes from Crete. An 11th or early 10th century BC krater from the settlement of Sybrita bears a scene showing three armed men dancing to the sound of what appears to be a lyre (D'Agata 2012). An early 7th century bronze figurine from the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme Viannou depicts a standing man with a lyre in his left arm (Heraklion, Arch. Mus. 3139; Lebessi 2002, 21, 99–102, no. 22, fig. 68, pl. 21). The man wears a headband and a short, skirt-like loincloth fastened with a belt. These new features of ostentatious corporeality definitely characterise a young athlete and (potential) warrior of elevated social status.

Conclusion

Feasting practices involving the performance of music, song and body movement, in addition to beauty maintenance, sport and sexuality, appear for the first time in Aegean-influenced Cypriot iconography during the 11th century BC, slightly later in Crete and in approximately 730 BC in Athens. Near Eastern – particularly Phoenician – affinities for the new habits can be inferred from the equipment and the iconography of EIA feasts. As a new strategy for demonstrating personal achievement and defining social identity, these practices mark the emergence of new elite groups that based their claims to authority on conspicuous consumption rather than on warfare or the supernatural. Socio-political transformations of these dimensions rarely occur without tensions or even conflicts, and Ian Morris has observed the emergence of the Athenian *polis* going through the clash of "elitist" and "middling" ideologies (cf. Morris 2000). The evidence reviewed in this paper might reflect such tensions.

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13

Nuptial Vases in Female Tombs? Aspects of Funerary Behaviour during the Late Geometric Period in Attica

Vicky Vlachou

For Nota Kourou

The pitcher, a pouring vessel with one vertical handle ("bell-mouthed oinochoe", after Cook 1997, 22; "pitcher-olpe", after Davison 1961, 10) was introduced in the Athenian repertoire before the middle of the 8th century BC presumably by the Dipylon Painter (Coldstream 1968, 34). The shape has been seen as the descendant of the shoulder-handled amphora that hardly survives into the Late Geometric (LG) I period (Coldstream 1968, 34), while an origin to the late Phrygian painted and monochrome one-handled round-mouthed jug of the late 8th century BC has also been suggested (Langdon 1993, 205; Mitten 1995, 379–80).

The number of painters and workshops that were grouped and named as "the pitcher workshops" by J. N. Coldstream, demonstrates the popularity of the vessel in the Attic repertoire during the second half of the 8th century BC (Kahane 1940, 479, 482; Cook 1947, 151–4; Coldstream 1968, 64–74). The decoration of the surface is almost entirely limited to geometric motifs, and only occasionally birds, single horses or stylised lions are included. Often those vases had a lid with a knob in the form of a miniature vase, which occasionally had the form of a pitcher. The size of those pitchers was more or less fixed between 40 cm and 55 cm and thus fitted to the large scale production of that period.

Nonetheless, few pitchers stand out as they grow significantly in height or bear figured decoration or both. Despite their large size that varies between 60 cm and 85 cm in height, these pitchers were placed inside the grave, along with inhumation burials either standing or lying next to the deceased. It becomes evident that the enlargement of the form of these pitchers should have been conditioned by their conspicuous use and symbolic function in funerary contexts. Despite the lack of osteological data, it would seem possible to associate the selective deposition of the giant pitchers in a small number of graves in Athens and Attica with a specific gender-based funerary behaviour. Likewise, some objects of intrinsic value that accompanied certain burials have been related to the burials of young females.

The context of large-sized pitchers (*prochoi*)

The large-sized pitcher and the giant oinochoe make their first appearance simultaneously on the threshold of the Late Geometric period. Among the graves of the so-called Dipylon cemetery, named after the gate of the archaic wall of Athens, some 300 m to the northeast (Hirchfeld 1872; Brückner and Pernice 1893; Skilardi 1968; Matthaiou 1983; Kavvadias and Lagia 2009, 74–5; Coulié 2010, 22–3; for the name Leokoriou Gate, cf. Arrington 2010, 500), representations of women's wealth and status have been signaled in the use of large belly-handled amphorae that once marked some of the graves. Already since the LG I period, large sized pitchers were selectively placed with certain burials of young females also accompanied by outstanding items.

The earliest large-sized pitcher (Table 13.1, Athens National Museum, inv. 812) was found in Dipylon grave 14 and has been assigned to the Dipylon Painter. According to Brückner and Pernice (1893, 131–2), the body of the deceased female was placed close to the long wall of the shaft in order to make more space for the two huge vases that accompanied the internment, a giant oinochoe (Athens National Museum, inv. 811) and a pitcher, 79 and 85 cm in height respectively. The large pitcher (Table 13.1, Athens National Museum, inv. 782: Fig. 13.1a) in Dipylon grave 7 (Brückner and Pernice 1893, 111–5) was placed by the feet of the deceased, presumably a young female, standing with the elaborate lid fallen on the floor of the tomb; one skyphos with high lip (Athens NM inv. 783: Wide 1899, 214, fig. 97 middle) and a smaller skyphos decorated with a unique ritual scene on the interior surface (Athens NM inv. 784: Brückner and Pernice 1893, 113, fig. 10; Borell 1978, 8, cat. no. 24, pl. 20; Langdon 2008, 170–1; Haug 2012, 139, fig. 104) were also found in the grave along with a small round aryballos, a cup and three spiral ornaments with a rosette at one end, already lost by the time of the publication. The third pitcher was found in Dipylon grave 13 (Brückner and Pernice 1893, 127–31; Haug 2012, 483). The pitcher (Athens NM inv. 771, Table 13.1) along with the amphora (Athens NM inv. 770: Wide 1899, 190–1, fig. 48) were the largest vessels in the grave, reaching a height of 58.5 cm and 63 cm respectively, accompanied by three quite large skyphoi with high lip similar to the skyphos from grave 7 and two more smaller ones (Athens NM inv. 772–775). The high status of the young female buried in Grave 13 is mainly manifested in the collection of small bone and faience objects and figurines (Athens NM inv. 780–781, 2604) among which an unparalleled set of ivory statuettes modelled after Syrian prototypes (Athens NM inv. 776–779: Schweitzer 1971, pls 147–148; Carter 1985, 1–7, 40; Zosi 2012). Such prestigious objects that occur in the graves of young females have been largely interpreted as symbols of wealth and gender and also presumably as items of ritual value (Langdon 2005, 16–7).

Table 13.1: Catalogue of giant Late Geometric (LG) Attic pitchers

Inv. no.	*Origin – current location*	*Description*	*Reference*
1	Dipylon, Grave 14, Athens National Museum (inv. 812)	Ht: 76.5/85.2 cm (with handle). Perforated bottom. Dipylon Painter (LG Ia)	Brückner & Pernice 1893, 131–2; Coldstream 1968, 30 no. 6, pl. 7e
2	Dipylon, Grave 7, Athens NM (inv. 782) (Fig. 13.1a)	Ht: 55/61.4 cm (with handle)/ 72.5 cm (with lid). Perforated bottom. Workshop of the Hooked Swastikas (LG IIa)	Brückner & Pernice 1893, 112–3; Wide 1899, 206–7, fig. 75; Coldstream 1968, 66, no. 4
3	Dipylon, Grave 13, Athens NM (inv. 771)	Ht: 54.2/58.5 cm (with handle)/ 75.7 cm (with lid). Workshop of the Hooked Swastikas (LG IIa)	Brückner & Penice 1893, 128; Wide 1899, 206–7, fig. 74; Davison 1961, fig. 144a–b; Coldstream 1968, 66, no. 2
4	Kerameikos, Grave 51 (inv. no. 1314)	Height: 69.7 cm. Painter of Kerameikos 1314	Kübler 1954, 245–7, pl. 113, 140; Davison 1961, 63–4, no. 1, fig. 87 (the Knickerbocker Workshop); Rombos 1988, 520 cat. no. 352 (the Painter of Kerameikos 1314)
5	Erysichthonos and Nileos str., Grave XIV		Tzahou-Alexandri 1967, 80, pl. 81d
6	Erysichthonos and Nileos str., Grave VI		Tzahou-Alexandri 1967, 80, pl. 80d
7	South slopes of Acropolis (ΓΜ26), Pit burial IX	Entire neck; Ht: 27 cm	Charitonides 1973, 14, pls 7a–c
8	Spata, Grave 1 – Athens NM (inv. 15267)	Ht: 65 cm. Soldier-bird Workshop (early LG IIb)	Philadelfeus 1920–1, 132, fig. 2; Kahane 1940, pl. xxvii.2: Brokaw 1963, pl. 28.3; Coldstream 1968, 64, no. 11
9	Spata, Grave 3	Ht: 65 cm. (LG II)	Philadelfeus 1920–1, 135, fig. 6.
10	Spata, Grave 4	Ht: 61 cm. Workshop of Athens 897 (LG IIb)	Philadelfeus 1920–1, 137, fig. 4; Coldstream 1968, 78 no. 19
11	Anavyssos, Athens NM (inv. 14411)	Ht: 70/75 cm (with handle). Anavyssos Painter (LG IIb)	Kastriotis & Philadelfeus 1911, 122, fig. 21; Coldstream 1968, 73, no. 1, pl. 13c
12	Anavyssos, Athens NM (inv. 14412)	Ht: 58/63.3 cm (with handle)/ 72 cm (with lid). Bottom perforated (Fig. 13.1b) (LGIIb)	Kastriotis & Philadelfeus 1911, 122, fig. 20; Coldstream 1968, 73, no. 1; Kaltsas 2007, 157
13	Attica, Athens NM (inv. 226)	Ht: 69.4/75.5 cm (with handle)/85.9 cm (with lid). Dipylon Workshop (LG Ib)	Wide 1899, 205, fig. 71; Davison 1961, 75, no. 2, fig. 109 (Tapestry Hand); Coldstream 1968, 32, no. 29; Schweitzer 1971, pl. 32; Cook 1997, pl. 4b
14	Attica, Athens NM (inv. 18432), the Empedocles Collection	Ht: 61.3/65.2 cm (with handle). Soldier-bird Workshop (LG IIa)	Coldstream 1968, 64, no. 3, pl. 12a
15	Ayia Paraskevi (Attica), Athens NM (inv. 16022) (Fig. 13.2a)	Ht: 54.7/62 cm (with handle). Birdseed Painter (LG IIa)	Coldstream 1968, 67, no. 5, pl. 12d; Haug 2012, fig. 14
16	Attica, Stockholm (Nationalmuseum Stockholm NM 1704)	Ht: 83/88 cm (with handle) Dipylon Workshop (LG I)	Coldstream 1968, 32, no. 28; *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (*CVA*) (Sweden 4) Stockholm 2, 22–3, pl. 11
17	Attica, Germany (Frankfurt-am-Main VF Beta 224)	Ht: 69 cm. Anavyssos Painter (LG IIb)	*CVA* (Germany 25) Frankfurt-am-Main 1, pls 6–7: Coldstream 1968, 73, no. 2
18	Attica, Germany (Gotha Schlossmuseum J. 2503)	Ht: 71.5 cm. Workshop of Athens 706 (early LG IIa)	*CVA* (Germany 24) Gotha Schlossmuseum 1, pls 20–2; Coldstream 1968, 51, no. 10
19	Attica, Munich (Museum Antiker Kleinkunst 6404)	Ht: 70 cm. Soldier-bird Workshop (LG IIa)	Davison 1961, 76, no. 1 (Tapestry Workshop) fig. 110; Coldstream 1968, 64, no. 2 (Soldier-Bird Workshop); *CVA* (Germany 9) Munich 3, pls 114, 115.2, 104.4

20	Attica, Harvard Art Museums/Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Francis H. Burr Memorial Fund 1950.64.	Ht: 58 cm (?). Lion Painter (LG IIb)	Kahane 1940, pl. 27.3; Davison 1961, fig. 30; Brokaw 1963, pl. 29.1; Coldstream 1968, 73, no. 1; Langdon 1993, 202–5, no. 79 col. pl. 16; Mitten 1995
21	Attica, formerly in I. D. Passas Collection, current location in Athens NM (inv. 29838) (Fig. 13.2b)	Ht: 48/50 cm (with handle). Workshop of Athens 894 (LG IIb)	Tölle 1964, pl. 10; Coldstream 1968, 59, no. 24
22	Attica, Providence (Museum of Art Rhode Island School of Design 15006)	Ht: 49.8/54.3 cm (with handle). Mainz/Providence Painter (LG IIb lat)	*CVA* (USA 2) Providence Museum of Rhode Island School of Design 1, pl. 8.2; Tölle 1964, 16, no. 2; Rombos 1988, 521–2, cat. no. 356
23	Marathosn (Attica), Grave 15, Marathon Museum inv. K 2207	Ht: 74/78 cm. (with handle). Close to the Workshop of Athens 894 (LG IIb)	Vlachou 2016. Information on the archaeological context of the tomb, cf. Mazarakis 2011, 711, figs 9–10; Vlachou 2011

See Table 13.2 for chronology and periodisation

Table 13.2: Chronological table of the Late Geometric in Attica (after J. N. Coldstream 1968)

Relative chronology	*Absolute chronology*
LG Ia	760–750 BC
LG Ib	750–735 BC
LG IIa	735–720 BC
LG IIb	720–700 BC

One giant pitcher accompanied the burial in Grave 51 in the adjacent Kerameikos cemetery (Table 13.1, Kübler 1954, 245–7). The young female was once laid in a wooden coffin inside the large grave (3.50 × 1.65 m); the giant pitcher was found standing by the feet of the deceased, along with a single skyphos and 3 high rimmed bowls (Kübler 1954, pl. 120, inv. 1316, pl. 121, inv. 1317–8; Borell 1978, pl. 13, no. 10).

On the north slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs in the area of the Melitides Gate, some Geometric and later graves were investigated at the junction of the modern Erysichthonos and Nileos streets (Tzahou-Alexandri 1967). Among the Geometric burials, two were accompanied by large-sized pitchers; the first pitcher was found inside Grave XIV (Table 13.1). The second pitcher (Table 13.1) over 60 cm high and one more fragmentary accompanied the burial of Grave VI. The rich offerings placed with the burial, such as a large flat-bottomed pyxis with horse lid, a golden ring and two golden spiral ornaments with copper ends, seem to point to a female burial in which symbolism was largely employed as indicated also by the presence of a pomegranate vase. A few more vessels, among which was a small kalathos, were revealed in the nearby pyre that has been associated with the same burial. One more fragmentary oversized pitcher was found in the vast necropolis at the south slopes of the Acropolis (Charitonides 1973, 14, pls 7a–c). Only the high neck of the pitcher survives (Table 13.1), erroneously published as an amphora neck. The pitcher was found inside the disturbed pit IX with no other information available.

Figure 13.1: a) Giant pitcher from Dipylon Grave 7 (Athens, NM 782) (photograph by the author); b) Giant pitcher from Anavyssos (Athens NM 14412) (photograph by the author)

Outside Athens, at Spata, Philadelfeus excavated in 1921 four undisturbed inhumation burials with a north–south orientation and a number of offerings (Philadelfeus 1920–1). Among the offerings of the richly furnished burial in Grave 3 a large pitcher (Table 13.1) was placed by the feet of the deceased, possibly a young female according to the excavator. Two more oversized pitchers were placed along with the clay offerings inside Graves 1 and 4 respectively (Table 13.1, inv. nos 8, 10). Two giant pitchers today in the National Museum at Athens (NM 14411, Table 13.1; NM 14412, Table 13.1, Fig. 13.1b) come from the excavations of 1911 at Anavyssos, but unfortunately they cannot be placed in a specific context (Kastriotis and Philadelfeus 1911, 121–5).[1]

A few more giant pitchers are said to come from Athens or Attica, dispersed today in Museums around the world (Table 13.1). Their excellent preservation suggests that they were presumably once placed with burials. They all follow the monumental size established by the Dipylon Painter; the giant pitcher today in Stockholm (NM 1704, Table 13.1) is the largest vessel of this type known until this day, reaching almost a meter high.

It becomes evident from the above survey that huge pitchers stand out from the common clay offerings and should be considered within the symbolic system of funerary display in Geometric Attica. The quality of their manufacture points to some of the most known Athenian workshops of the LG period, while their imposing size

manifests that these must have been the products of special commissions and thus of significant value. It may be suggested that oversized pitchers were intended as intrinsic and prestigious grave gifts that may have served at the same time as prominent ritual utensils during the funeral. In this respect, an almost circular perforation of the bottom of most of the huge pitchers makes more sense when associated with a ritual use of those vessels (Kübler 1954, 33–4; Boardman 1988, 176–7; Luce 2003, 60–1; 2011, 57). This is not an uncommon phenomenon in similar contexts that may be understood as an act of ritual and symbolic defunctionalisation of the burial gifts, frequently achieved by the intentional removal of any practical aspects before being finally deposited inside the tomb.

Figure 13.2: a) Giant pitcher from Agia Paraskevi (Athens NM 16022), (photograph by the author); b) Giant pitcher located formerly in the I. D. Passas Collection (Athens NM 29838) (drawn by the author)

The evidence of the iconography

When figured decoration is applied on the surface of the pitchers, it provides a useful way to consider their special function in the funerary record. Like the concurrent hydriae and clay *loutrophoroi* of the archaic period female mourners, dancers, horses and mythic creatures are shown on the surface of few pitchers. The earliest example is an oversized pitcher today in the National Museum at Athens (NM 16022, Table 13.1) that is said to have been found at Agia Paraskevi just outside Athens (Fig. 13.2a). The vase has been assigned to the Birdseed Painter, who introduced two groups of female mourners (Ahlberg 1971, 77–83; Cavanagh and Mee 1995, 53–4) directed towards each other on the high neck. This is the only specimen of giant dimensions directly alluding to funerals (for a smaller pitcher see London, British Museum, BM 1912.5.22.1 with four *prothesis* scenes around the belly, cf. Davison 1961, 39, fig. 29; Ahlberg 1971, fig. 45; Rombos 1988, 513–4, pl. 11b).

Around the end of the 8th century BC, the figured decoration of two pitchers, over half a metre high, each makes a reference to festive celebrations. The first (Athens NM 29838, Table 13.1, Fig. 13.2b) shows 12 dancers holding hands and branches in the broad zone of the neck; on the body five small square metopes display horses, a centaur and a single female dancer holding in each hand a branch and a wreath. The second pitcher (Table 13.1, inv. no. 22), that dates somewhat later and is also said to come from Athens, depicts six female dancers on the neck.

Although interpretations of female dances in relation to funerary rituals or festive occasions remain ambiguous, a recent spectacular find from Marathon, contemporary to the pitcher formerly in the I. Passas collection (Athens National Museum, NM 29838, Table 13.1, Fig. 13.2b), leaves no doubt as to the nuptial character of the decoration and presumably of the vessel. The giant pitcher (Marathon Museum, K 2207, Table 13.1) was found in the burial ground by Marathonos Avenue at Marathon (Mazarakis 2011; Vlachou 2011)[2] and accompanied a young female's burial, according to osteological analysis. The intention of the painter to impress though the sheer richness in narrating a wedding celebration on a large pitcher used for carrying and pouring water, suggests that this may have been originally intended as nuptial vessel (Vlachou 2016). In this context, the Marathon pitcher is inextricably related to its owner, embodying the social and potential marriage status of the deceased and may thus be compared to the role and function of the clay *loutrophoros* of the Archaic and Classical periods. The selection of the particular vessel shape, the giant pitcher, seems to lay within a specific Attic funerary tradition in Attica as demonstrated by the selective placement of oversized pitchers with a number of burials of the LG period.

Conclusion

Associations between gender and funerary behaviour have so far been suggested upon the use of certain vessels as funerary urns, burial markers or material accompaniments in Attica already since the Protogeometric period (Boardman 1988; Whitley 1991; 1996, 221–31; Strömberg 1993; Xagorari-Gleissner 1996, 64–7; Kalaitzoglou 2010; Kourou 2011). Differential treatment for the burials of young females, at least from the middle of the 8th century BC, has been convincingly connected by S. Langdon to social changes and property disposal (Langdon 2005; 2008, 290–1, 296–7). In this perspective, the enlargement of a certain number of pitchers from around the middle of the 8th century, which is in seer contrast to the large numbers of small and medium-sized pitchers from funerary contexts, and their selective deposition with female burials in Athens and Attica is regarded here as a specific gender-based behaviour embodying the social status and marital state of the deceased. With the exception of the burial from Marathon, where osteological analysis showed that the large pitcher was buried with a young female, no such analysis has been carried out for the rest of the burials. Nonetheless, some of the excavators report young females or *korai* as having been interred with large pitchers (Brückner and Pernice 1893, 111–5; Philadelfeus 1920–1), while some of the offerings, especially those from the Dipylon and the Spata graves, would also seem more appropriate for young females (Langdon 2005). The Marathon pitcher is a spectacular find that, despite its placement in funeral context, alludes to nuptial celebrations both by its shape and its dense iconography already at the closing years of the 8th century BC.

Consequently, oversized pitchers may have served a similar function to the clay *loutrophoros* that held a prominent place as the carrier of water for ritual bathing, both during the wedding and funerary rituals (Mösch 1988; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 6–7, 15–6, 32; Sabetai 1993, 129–74; Bergemann 1996, 166–74; Mösch-Klingele 1999; Smith 2005, 3–9; Sabetai 2009). As a symbolic offering or grave marker the *loutrophoros* has been related to those that died prematurely, deprived of their nuptial rites. It seems possible to trace a similar funerary behaviour towards young women already in the LG period (for the origins of the clay *loutrophoros*, cf. Walter-Karydi 1963, 90–2; Boardman 1988, 175–8; Sabetai 1993, 132–6; Hildebrandt 2011) in the selective placement of monumental pitchers with certain Attic burials

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of the National Museum of Athens.

Notes

1 The excavators describe the two large pitchers as one-handled pithoid vessels and note that they were used as either for child inhumations (*enchytrismoi*) or as cinerary urns. This is the only case where such a use is reported for the giant pitchers that unfortunately cannot be verified as no more information survives from the excavation of the cemetery.

2 The Marathon pitcher is very summarily mentioned in the above discussion. The detailed publication of all the finds from the Marathonian necropolis is forthcoming by the author.

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14

Turning into Stone: Rock Art and the Construction of Identities in Ancient Thrace

Stella Pilavaki

Little is known about the social organisation and culture of the indigenous tribes that had lived since prehistory in Aegean Thrace. I quote a passage of Herodotus, which constitutes a rare incidence among the sporadic references to the Thracians in the Greek literature that gives a glimpse into the values according to which these societies were structured: "To be tattooed is a sign of noble birth; to bear no such marks is for the baser sort. The idler is most honoured, the tiller of the soil most contemned; he is held in highest honour who lives by war and foray" (Herodotus V, 6). This passage attests that in the 5th century BC Thracian societies were stratified with warriors being on the highest rung of the social scale. The Early Iron Age ideology that viewed living by war and plunder as the greatest value still stood among the Thracians.

This paper will attempts to present the potential of a so far under-investigated and un-theorised complex of rock engravings to enrich the hitherto meagre knowledge of the social, political and religious ideas and practices of the Thracians. These engravings occur in a wide area situated in the modern administrative regions of Serres and Kavala in northern Greece, and encompassing Mounts Pagaeon and Simvolo, the west ridges of Mount Lekani, and the east ridges of Mount Menikion. Eighteen open-air sites comprising more than a hundred panels, and five rock shelters are so far known (Fig. 14.1).

Dating these rock engravings is difficult because it has not been possible to associate them directly with the archaeology of the region. However, the relational analysis of different strands of evidence suggests a Thracian authorship for the main corpus of this art (Pilavaki 2011; 2014). This evidence includes style, iconography, the data derived from the structural and phenomenological investigation of this material, and related literature. With regard to style, these engravings are similar to a corpus of Neolithic figurines from the prehistoric settlement of Sitagroi that is situated in the same area, while they differ considerably from all known historical art traditions of this region. The stylistic conventions of this art are common to many prehistoric art systems and have no relevance to naturalism, a style that has been introduced in this area by the Greeks. Iconography presents some elements that are characteristic of Thracian culture. Its character is predominantly martial. The Thracians had not only been noted for their warlike character since Homer's (17, 350–1 and 12, 101–4) time, but had also raised war to the highest value of their society, as shown in the passage of Herodotus quoted above. A typical motif among these engravings is the figure of the armed rider. The image of a mounted Thracian "Hero" as it is largely known, is a persisting element in Thracian art and is often associated with the idea of a tribal ancestor (Hoddinott 1981). Another common theme in the

repertoire of this art is the *sica*, a curved sword that in antiquity was considered to be the "national" weapon of the Thracians (Rustoiu 2007). The structural and phenomenological investigation of the engravings gave an insight into the mental orientation of the makers, highlighting the spiritual significance assigned to the natural elements and the sun. This evidence is suggestive more of a prehistoric worldview than the cosmologies of the Greco-Roman or later cultures. Although none of the above evidence is conclusive in isolation, the various strands are reciprocally validated. It can also be inferred from the depiction of datable objects and practices that this is most likely an Iron Age tradition, which lasted for many centuries before and after the Macedonian conquest in 356 BC (Pilavaki 2011; 2014).

The repertoire of these engravings includes a variety of subjects comprising animals, weapons, human figures, armour, tools, wheeled vehicles and wheels, ploughs and plough scenes, standards, ships and geometric figures. The human representations will be examined here with regard to their form and structuring in relation to the landscape. It will be argued that these images may have been carved and experienced in the context of rituals related to the construction of social identities. The mechanism that supported the dynamics of power underlying social differentiation will also be explored.

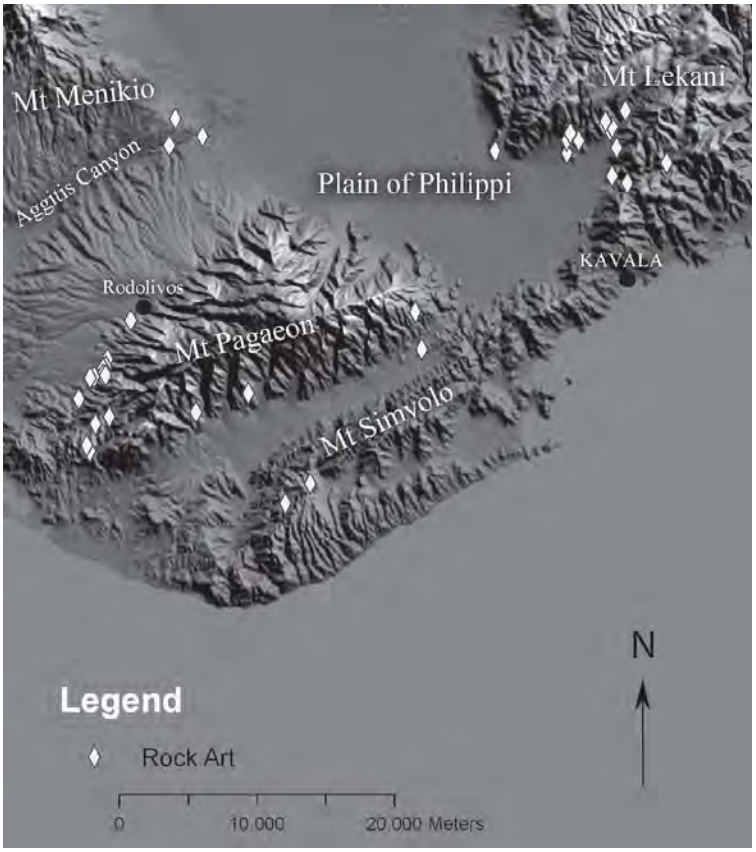

Figure 14.1: Distribution of rock art (mapped by the author).

Principles of representation and style of the art and the rendering of the human body

"For might it not be argued that the shapes of art are also arrived at through adaptation to various functions?" asks Gombrich (1982, 25) making an interesting metaphor between art and the Darwinian evolution in nature. Art styles have been created to respond to the needs of specific social and historical conditions. The traceable principles of representation and style of an art system might, therefore, yield clues to its function.

The style of these engravings is highly schematised. Figures are rendered in outline retaining only the minimal identifying features. Complex individual figures and scenes are not depicted the way they look from one point of view. They are rendered in two dimensions in a stylistic convention that shows each part of the figures in its more characteristic aspect, the one that offers the most representative and clear form. Riders, for example, are shown in frontal view while the animals they ride are depicted in profile (Fig. 14.2a).

Figures on the same panel have different orientations in relation to an observer. They create a two-dimensional

space, in which depth is not implied in any way. There is complete absence of representations of plants or landscape features and no ground surface is defined. The creation of the illusion of "real" space was not among the intentions of the makers of these engravings. Carvings are small, ranging from a few centimeters to a maximum of one meter. In open-air art they are always situated on horizontal surfaces in a way that does not take full advantage of the available surface. This art lies at the exact opposite of any notion of monumentality. Human scale, as well as the size of panels, in most cases dwarfs the figures.

Groupings of figures occur on the same panel separated either by natural cracks or by undecorated surfaces. Superimpositions might also relate to the grouping of figures into significant assemblages according to the notion of "intentional and significant superimposition" (Leroi-Gourhan 1982, 20) introduced by Laming-Emperaire in 1957.

Human representations conform to the same stylistic principles. They are outlined whole figures depicted in frontal view. They are typically static. The human body is reduced to simple geometric forms. Anatomical details are restricted to facial features and indicators of sex. However, no two human figures are identical. They vary considerably in size. Miniscule figures co-occur with much bigger figures on the same panel. Differences in size between depictions of fully equipped warriors indicate that they are not intended to differentiate children from adults (Fig. 14.2b). Body forms vary. Keyhole-shaped whole figures is the most common type; Π or X shaped bodies with round, oval or rectangular heads often occur. Some figures have an elaborate and visually fascinating decoration. They draw in the eye of an observer who is captivated into the intricacies of their pattern. Other figures are differentiated as to dress, the use of headdresses, trousers, or armour. Figures are often holding or bearing objects that fall into three representational categories: weapons, tools and standards. In one instance a human figure is forming part of a plough scene. Male or female gender is indicated only on a number of figures by the depiction of genitals, breasts and birth-giving posture. Postures are confined to standing, riding and giving birth. Two figures in birth-giving posture indicate the symbolic character of the art; one is joined to baskets and the other to a plough. In both cases the fundamental concern of humanity with fertility is expressed in a single symbol that links the fertility of the woman to the fertility of the earth. Riders on deer and a fox also suggest symbolism. Most riders, however, are riding animals lacking any diagnostic features, which considering the reputation of the Thracians as horsemen, are most likely horses. Upraised or horizontally extended arms ending in open palms with splayed fingers are distinctive gestures.

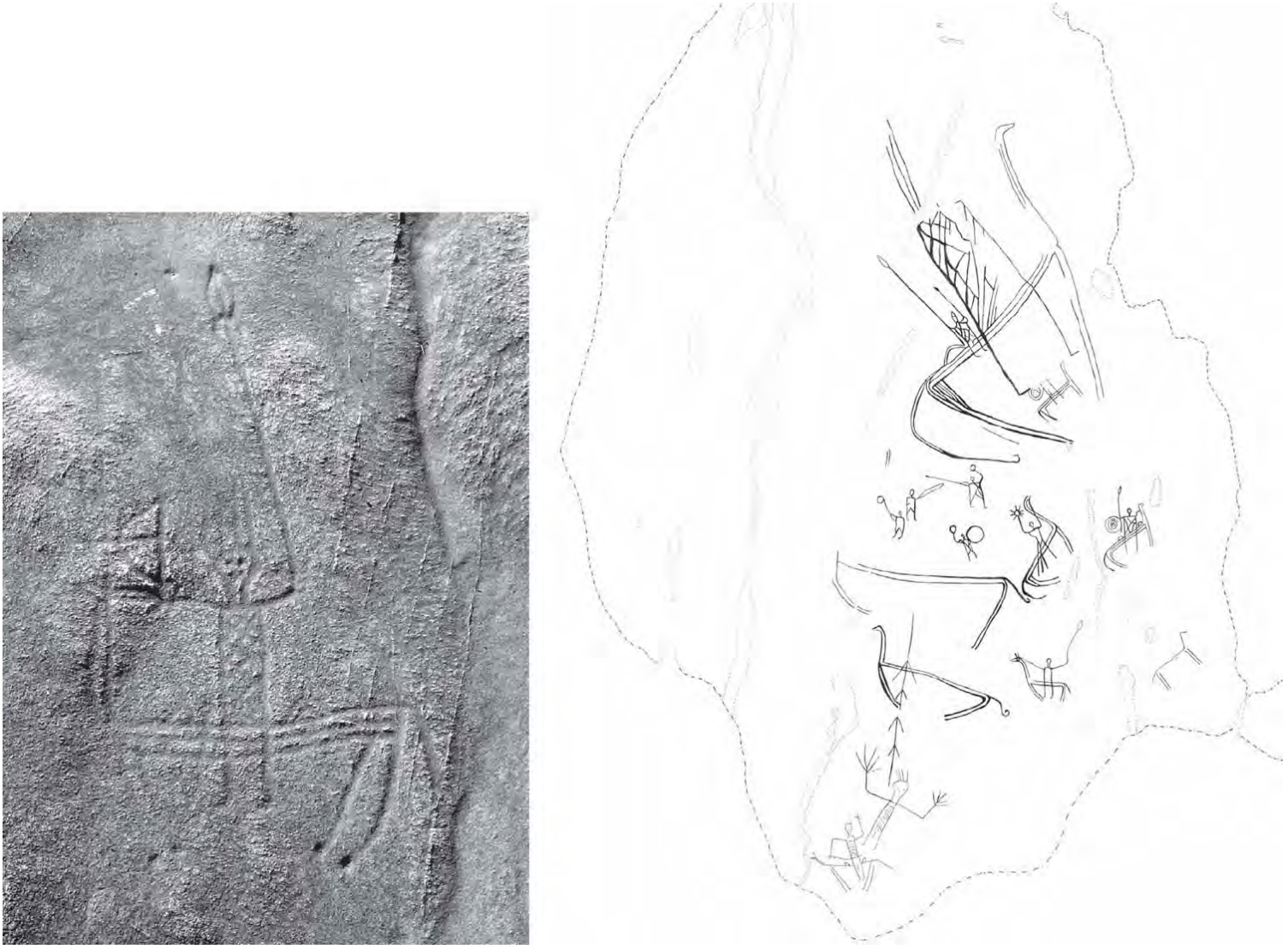

Figure 14.2: a) Mounted warrior from Panel 14, Ridge 4, Site Mikro Souli – Nea Fili (photograph by the author); b) tracing of figures from Panel 8, Ridge 4, Site Mikro Souli – Nea Fili (originally traced by the author).

Quantitative analysis – Distribution of motifs between sites and panels

The quantitative analysis of these rock engravings gave clues to the character of the society involved, highlighting martial iconography as a dominant theme. Weapons form the second most numerous representational category after animals and before human figures. There are 422 figures related to war or hunting, whereas only 23 figures related to agriculture. Bows, spears and axes constitute the most numerous weapons and might have been used either in war or hunting. A number of clues, however, including the substantial number of swords and maces, as well as the presence of shields, indicate that the picture arising from the numbers is clearly that of a martial society. The motif of the rider is the most frequent among human figures and constitutes 12% of the sum of all individual figures. A large number of these figures are mounted warriors. It can be approximately estimated that at least half of all human figures are holding weapons. Many more are associated with weapons in the sense of being in close proximity or in a relation of superimposition with them, corroborating the idea of a society of warriors.

Examination of the distribution of motifs between sites and panels showed considerable differentiation between them. This analysis has been pursued at two levels. I first examined the occurrence of each category of individual figures between carving locales, and then conducted a more detailed analysis for the category of weapons examining the frequency of occurrence and co-presence of different weapon types at each carving locale. There are sites and panels displaying a particular preoccupation with fertility, agriculture, religious symbolism, war and so forth. Martial or hunting imagery is not present at all sites despite their numerical dominance. Weapons occur only at 11 out of 18 carving locales and two of them are lacking any unambiguously martial iconography, suggesting that they might not have been associated with war. Three sites, Philippi, Mikro Souli – Nea Fili and Plagia, stand out for

hosting not only a large number of weapons, but either all or the majority of different categories of weapons. I would, therefore, suggest that iconography associated with war was appropriate only at particular sites and that possibly these three sites were the major congregation centres of a warriors' society. A thematic preference in the distribution of weapons is also observed at the level of panels. Some panels display only one category of weapons or warriors, which is furthermore the only subject depicted (Fig. 14.3). More commonly it is the case that panels containing more than one category of motifs are either dominated by or have only one category of weapons or warriors. If we pursue the idea of a warriors' society, different panels may have been related to different clans: the archers, the sword men, the spearmen and so on.

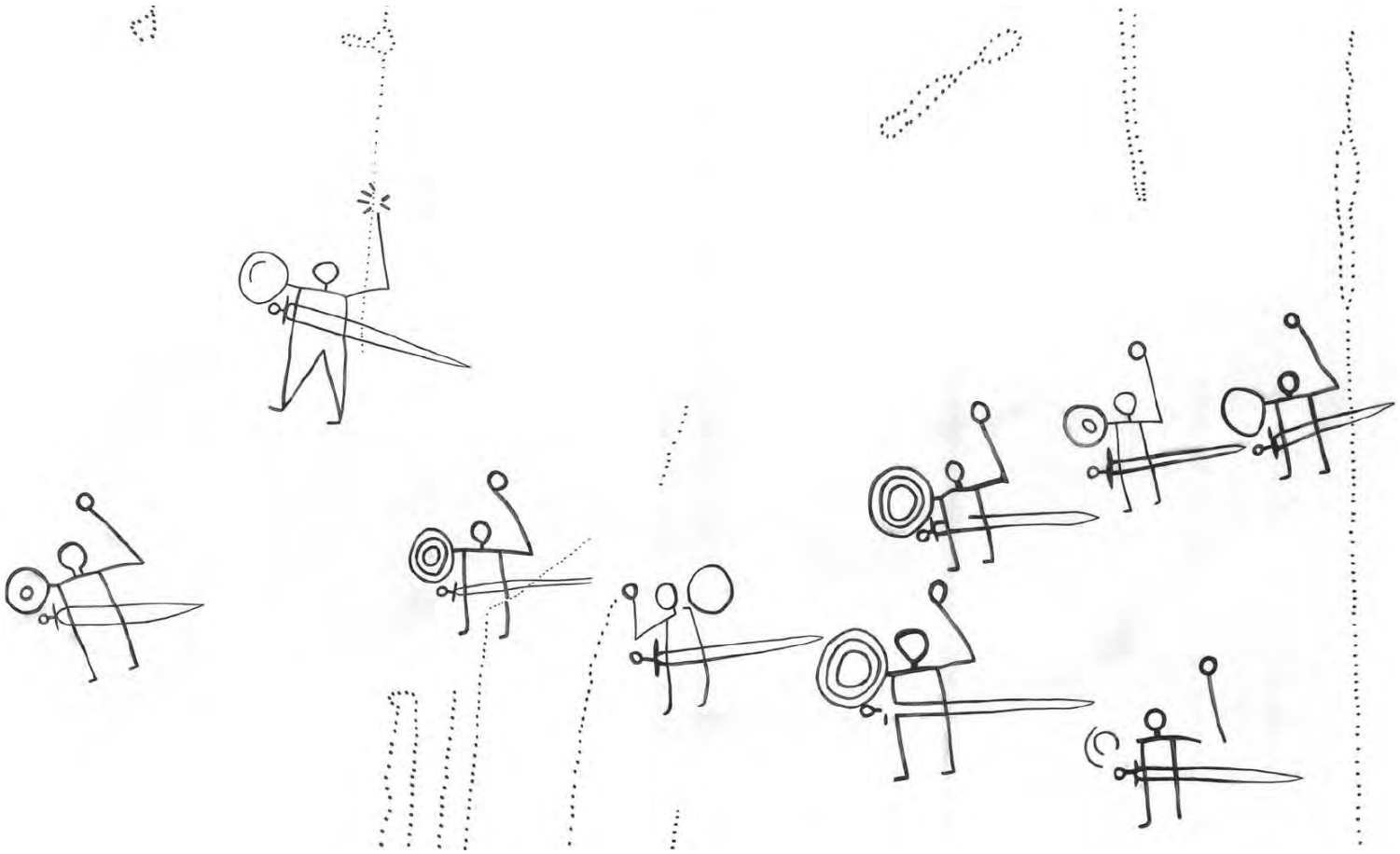

Figure 14.3: Tracing of figures from Panel 2, Ridge 4, Site Mikro Souli – Nea Fili (originally traced by the author).

Structural-phenomenological analysis

The evidence presented so far suggests that ideas of social identity were embodied in the symbolic language of this art. Despite their high degree of abstraction, human figures are depicted with material symbols of social, religious and gender identities displaying their difference and rank. Human representations have the ability to produce counterfeit versions of reality by creating "object" -ive physical models to which people can relate and compare themselves (Bailey 1996). This potential to delude makes them particularly effective in strategies of social management as tools for fabricating identities and establishing social hierarchies (Bailey 1996). The inhabitants of this area for a very long period of time not only repeated in their imagery the same set of symbols, but also locked them within a durable material and fixed them in place. Lack of movement is also a quality of human figures whose static posture conveys the feeling of having been frozen in time. Permanence and immobility betray the desire of a society to construct a reality that would outlive the ephemeral event, a concept that is consistent with the longevity of the tradition.

An analysis confined to the visuality of images would relegate the landscape to a background setting of the activities performed. Instead, I conducted a phenomenological investigation, which provided the link between the images and the materiality of the landscape, and furnished the structural analysis with parameters dependent on temporal and topographical factors that otherwise would be impossible to assess. This investigation involved

examination of the structuring of the art in relation to water sources, the materiality of stone, the apparent movement of the sun and the resulting changes of light relations on the landscape. It showed a consistent pattern associating rock art sites with water sources, and a clear preference towards stony locations, places rich in quartz, and marble surfaces of high-grade metamorphism. Surfaces of high-grade metamorphism are harder and more reflective, properties that give them a crystalline, brilliant appearance when exposed to direct sunlight. This analysis also indicated a special significance assigned to the rising sun and locations more favoured by direct sunlight. A particular examination of human figures with upraised arms corroborated the importance of the rising sun. The orientation of most falls within the range of the rising sun in the course of a year. Furthermore, a considerably larger number than one would expect from a randomly distributed set of observations are oriented either precisely towards the point on the local horizon of the rising or setting sun at the equinoxes or solstices, or are clustering around it.

This analysis highlighted the importance of the natural elements and the sun in a way that transcended practical functions. It also suggested that the materiality of the landscape might have been related to ideological aspects of luminosity. Particular places may have been invested with ritual significance and selected for embellishment because of the symbolic potency and ontological status that the material substances peculiar to them held in the societies involved.

Synthesis

Rock engravings on Mount Pagaeon are likely to represent the Paeonian image of the Sun, as described by Maximus of Tyre in his second oration (Trapp 1997) that deals with the images of Gods (8), linking the art to the worship of the Sun (Fig. 14.4): “The Paeonians revere the Sun, and the Paeonian image of the Sun is a small disc at the top of a long pole”. The Paeonians were one of the Thracian tribes whose territory at certain periods reached Mount Pagaeon. In antiquity Mount Pagaeon was associated with the invention of mining and smelting gold and renowned for its richness in gold and silver. These factors together with the preceding analysis suggest that the link between the materiality of the area and the spirituality of people was the luminosity of its mineralogical constituents. The construction of peoples’ identities may have been sanctioned in a dialogue with supernatural powers afforded through the interfaces of the landscape. The metamorphic, transformative properties of gold and marble offered ideal vehicles for meanings related to social and spiritual evolution.

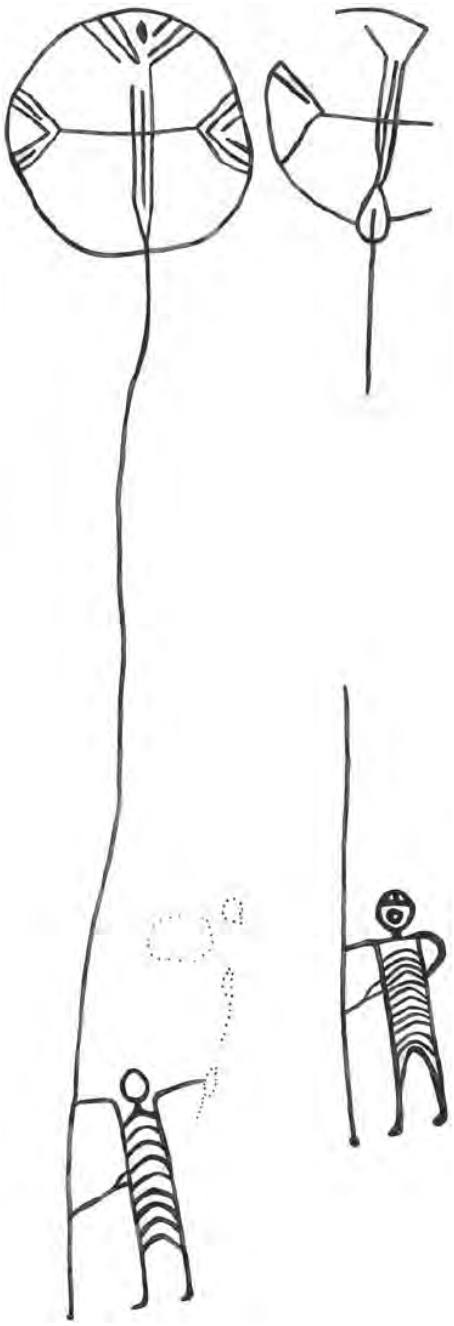

Figure 14.4: Tracing of two human figures holding standards, Panel 3, Ridge 3, Site Mikro Souli – Nea Fili (originally traced by the author).

To understand the mechanism that supported the dynamics of power underlying social differentiation it is essential to explore the nature of the individual religious experiences induced by rituals involving the art. The significance of ritual practices goes beyond the symbolic performance of culturally shared systems of belief (Dornan 2004). Religious rituals are a means by which the divine can be directly experienced in a somatic and emotional way. Subjective religious experience plays an active role in the creation, maintenance and change of systems of belief. Imagery associated with war, religious symbolism and astronomical alignments are not separate themes in this cultural repertoire. In many cases, figures of warriors oriented towards significant solar events hold symbols of the Sun God and symbols of power. Social order was internalised by the initiated through an emotive experience that expanded individual consciousness. The reality constructed by this society was authenticated every time the sun "decided" to change direction at the proper time of the year. As Dornan (2004) points out, the power of a system of beliefs depends on the resonance between the ideas it advances and the individual experience induced in ritual.

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Part IV

Embodied Knowledge through Technology and Space

15

Lithics and Identity at the Middle Palaeolithic site of Lakonis Cave I, Southern Peloponnese, Greece

Paraskevi Elefanti and Eleni Panagopoulou

Introduction

Recent developments in the study of Palaeolithic society have emphasised the need to adopt a more comprehensive approach to the interpretation of human behaviour by taking into consideration various scales of analysis, encompassing both time and space. These scales of analysis can include individuals interacting for only a few hours in the course of a brief encounter, to larger groups and for longer periods, in the context of complex social networks within extended spatial units (Gamble 1999, 67–8). The study of individuals in particular, has generally been regarded as beyond the resolution of the Palaeolithic record (Clark 1992, 107), and thus initiatives, decisions and efforts undertaken by them could only be inferred from the ultimate success or failure of the organisational system within which these individuals were operating (Flannery 1967). The need to centre the role of individuals and their social identity at the heart of Palaeolithic theory has become known as the "bottom up approach" (Gamble 1999; Gamble and Porr 2005). This requires us to shift our scale of analysis from the level of group to that of the individual, in order to learn more about those who created society through their biological and cultural interactions. The alternative "top-down approach" considers that society precedes and shapes the individual through the power of its institutions (Gamble 1999, 33).

As individuals we refer to the physical and mortal human being (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008, 17), a concept which is closely linked with concepts of the person, body or "self" (Hamilakis *et al*. 2002, 3). An individual could be the expression of three elements, personality, individuality and personhood (Sinclair and McNabb 2005, 177–8). However, although it is not just individuals who can be persons and personhood is not just a matter of individuality, as abstract concepts such as an entity or individual biographies can be perceived as a person (Fowler 2004, 85), we agree with the argument that if personality and individuality are concepts which describe the uniqueness of a person, personhood attributes a social status (Sinclair and McNabb 2005, 177–8). As has been suggested, personhood is the collective attributes of a person, the way in which he or she perceives the world and interacts with it (Fowel 2004, 4). In other words, to have personhood implies that a person is a member of larger social collective, which allow him or her to maintain more than one identity (Knapp and van Dommelen 2008, 17) and to build relationships that extend through time and space (Gamble and Gaudzinski 2005, 161).

But individuals live their lives using objects. Like thought and language (Thomas 2002, 32), objects are key to

social relations and traditions. The reason being that objects form a focus of shared understanding to which common references are made, allowing our own perspectives to include an understanding of those of others (Sofaer 2006, 79). In addition, objects and techniques employed in their manufacture provide a range of factors that bring the agency of individuals to life, exposing their decisions and reflections (Sinclair 2000, 196). The human body, therefore, is a medium through which artefacts are made and used, in other words the body and its embodied practices link the social and material world together (Dobres 2000, 5).

Objects such as chipped stone are one of the most enduring categories of past material culture, used routinely as a chronological and cultural marker of the societies which produced them. Based on the fundamental concept that technology represents a set of behaviours that contribute to success within a given environment, various criteria have been suggested by which these strategies can be assessed, including design, time and energy invested, amongst others (Nelson 1991). However, although the notion of technology as "problem-solving" strategy (Binford 1977) cannot be discounted, it has become apparent that is also a process which involves corporeal experiences, including the making and use of objects as well as a reflection of skills, identity and social relationships (Dobres 2000, 128). Thus, tools (as well as speech) are not only ways of acting in the world, but they are also ways of getting to know it (Ingold 1993, 432).

This paper focuses on the manufacturing body and in particular on the ways in which embodied identities are developed in a personal and social context. The argument is that by shifting our focus from the techno-typological attributes of a lithic assemblage to the anthropology of lithic production and use, we gain insight into the increasing complexity that the latter involves. Lithic production is an arena where social and personal identity merge into one. The individual has a sense of belonging to a broader cultural context, in part defined by techno-typological principles, in our case the Levallois strategy which is considered as one of the hallmarks of the Middle Palaeolithic (Mellars 1996). However, tool production is not a static process following pre-determined stages, but rather a course of actions subject to continual re-designing of the initial idea in order to accomplish the desired goals with the available means. In this embodied process, it is the decisions, skills, abilities and needs of the tool maker, in other words his or her basic elements of personal identity which are important. Some aspects of the complexity of this process are highlighted in the following discussion.

Our case study focuses on lithic artefacts from the Middle Palaeolithic layers at Lakonis Cave I (hereafter referred to as Lakonis) in the southern Peloponnese. For the purposes of this study we concentrate on the excavated samples recovered during the years 2000–2004 and 2006–2009. Although not included in this study, analysis of the 2010 material has now been completed and will be presented in the final publication which is due to be submitted in the near future.

The case study

Lakonis is located 3 km to the east of the town of Gytheion on the east coast of the Mani peninsula in the southern Peloponnese (Fig. 15.1). It forms part of a larger complex consisting of several collapsed karstic caves, designated I–V, which are located along the present shoreline just above sea level. Ten seasons of excavations at the site between 1999 and 2010 have documented extensive Late Pleistocene hominin habitation from *c*. 130–140 ka (Panagopoulou *et al.* 2002–2004; Elefanti *et al*. 2008), broadly contemporaneous with other caves in the Peloponnese such as Kalamakia, Klisoura I and Kephalari (Elefanti and Marshall 2015).

Lakonis is an east facing collapsed cave with an estimated area of about 250 m^2, with a floor which is currently just above sea level. Early occupation of the cave began soon after sea level had begun to fall after the high stand of the Last Interglacial at around 130 ka. The cave was located on the edge of a broad and expanding coastal plain, which extended out into what is today the northern edge of the Lakonic Gulf. Fauna found at the site points to the presence of medium sized ungulates, mainly cervids and wild pig, while *Bos primigenius* highlights the diverse ecological setting of the cave (Panagopoulou *et al.* 2002–4). There were also nearby sources of fresh water with springs along the base of the low cliffs in which the cave complex is situated. The region also contains abundant relatively good quality raw materials. All of these factors point to the optimal location of the site in what was previously a very different local environment to the one seen today.

Lithic production at Lakonis Cave I

Lithic production was based predominately on the use of greenish andesite, a type of silicified volcanic rock of varying quality, currently found within a radius of up to 10 km from the site in both primary and secondary deposits. They usually occur as relatively large irregular nodules of up to 25 cm in diameter. Despite the occasional presence of interior cleavage planes, they are in most cases suitable for knapping. Quartz is also present as small pebbles in nearby streambeds as well as within fossil beach deposits, and represents the second most frequently used type of raw material. It ranged in colour from white to smoky white and yellowish-red, with rare pieces of translucent crystal. Other types of rocks in use included black-greyish flint and schist, both of which appear to have entered the cave as pre-shaped cores or blanks. Their origin is unknown, although probably from some considerable distance. Finally, there were two instances of rare dark brown chocolate coloured flint, also of unknown origin.

Raw material exploitation remained constant at Lakonis throughout the Middle Palaeolithic. This suggests that the site remained part of the same local catchment area during the entire period and that subsistence and mobility systems, as well as the identity of those who frequented the cave, remained broadly unchanged. Despite the predominance of local raw materials, the presence of exotic black and brown flint, along with marine shells suggest that Lakonis formed part of a much wider social landscape. Isotope evidence from the single Neanderthal tooth recovered at the site suggests that the individual had spent their formative years in an area 20 km away from the cave (Richards *et al.* 2008). This needs to be considered as a minimum though, and it is likely that groups were covering much of the southern Peloponnese and possibly beyond, visiting other sites such as Klisoura 1 and Kephalari to the north.

Figure 15.1: Artefact categories from Lakonis Cave I (Lakonis Cave I drawing archive):
1. Bladelet core on flake
2, 5, 7. Single platform cores
3, 6. Two opposed platform cores
4. Splintered piece
8. Burin on sidescraper
9, 10. Levallois recurrent centripetal cores

The Middle Palaeolithic assemblage included in this discussion amounts to 42,472 pieces, of which 6826 were larger than 20 mm and these were described in terms of a range of qualitative and quantitative attributes (Elefanti *et*

al. 2008). Unretouched pieces between 10 mm and 20 mm were grouped according to raw material and type, while chips and debris less than 10 mm were only counted (Table 15.1). The range of debitage and tool types present, suggests that all phases of the core reduction sequence were present, including unworked pebbles, roughly tested nodules and core rough-outs. Also present was debitage, technical pieces and a wide range of discarded tools (Table 15.2). Such an assemblage is expected at sites used for prolonged periods and for a variety of purposes, probably a residential hub.

Analysis of the chipped stone assemblage identified two modes of production based on the use of different types of cores. On the one hand there were the more formal forms made using the Levallois technique. These cores were made according to rules based on volumetric principles, with the core made up of two opposing convex surfaces, hierarchically related to each other in a fixed and non-interchangeable manner (Boëda 1995). Of the 150 complete cores included in our study so far, 40 (26.7%) were Levallois or derivatives thereof (Table 15.3). The most common Levallois cores were recurrent centripetal (n=27, 18%), resulting in small almost completely exhausted residual pieces. In a small number of cases linear recurrent cores were switched to centripetal, probably towards the end of their use-life. Linear recurrent and preferential Levallois cores were less common, with a total of eight pieces (5.3%), while the small number of discoidal cores (n=4) may also have been an attempt to extend the Levallois concept, particularly considering the similarities between the two techniques (Boëda 1995). Cores were maintained and shaped as indicated by relatively large number of éclats débordants. This type of debitage is the result of shaping of the Levallois striking platform and maintenance of the convexity of the flaking surface. Levallois cores were exclusively made from silicified andesite, probably because the larger size of this raw material allowed for the preparation and maintenance of cores and repeated removals.

Parallel and complimentary to the Levallois technique, were a range of less formal cores in which there was minimal investment in preparation and maintenance of striking platforms and flaking surfaces. These included single and occasionally multiple platform amorphous types, along with cores on large amorphous flakes, occasionally Levallois, with small numbers of subsequent flake and rare blade removals. Cores on flakes were commonly made of silicified andesite, where the larger size of the blank allowed for subsequent removals. They were also made of quartz although at lower frequency. Splintered pieces were also part of this group of less formal cores. This technique was most often used to work smaller quartz pebbles at Lakonis, with just one possible example made of andesite. Splintering is found in other sites in the Peloponnese, such as at Kephalari cave, where it is also used to process smaller pieces of quartz and occasionally quartz crystal (Marshall pers. comm.). Splintering results in shattered debitage and wedge shaped remnant cores, although it is also possible that these were tools in their own right, chisels or wedges (Kaczanowska *et al*. 2010, 155). In addition, we suggest that some of the burins at Lakonis may in fact have been cores. These chisel-like artefacts are distinguished by a narrow blade like burin spall (Debénath and Dibble 1994, 96–7) and are usually described as engraving implements, but can also be produced by scraper resharpening or proximal thinning, usually of Levallois flakes with pronounced bulbs and wide, facetted platforms. At Lakonis a total of 117 burins have been identified so far and based on the length and narrowness of many of the removal scars, we suggest that some were also used as cores for the production of bladelets, as has recently been argued for Middle Palaeolithic sites in the Levant (Meignen 2007, 134).

Table 15.1: Lakonis Cave I lithic assemblage structure for pieces >20 mm

Main lithic category	*No. pieces*
Untested raw materials	29
Core and core fragments	187
Debitage (*i.e.* flakes, blades, bladelets)	5042
Technical pieces	563
Tools	1005
Total	6826

Table 15.2: Core sample from Lakonis Cave I

Core types	*No. pieces*
Levallois cores	40
Single and two opposed platform cores	15
Change of orientation core	16
Prismatic-like cores	10
Cores on flakes	28
Cores on pebbles	8
Splintered pieces	9
Tabular pieces	4
Amorphous/rough-outs	21
Fragments	37
Total	188

Table 15.3: Core flaking at Lakonis Cave I, in terms of raw materials

Core types	*Silicified lavas*	*Quartz*	*Flint*
Levallois cores	40	0	0
Single and two opposed platform cores	5	10	0
Change of orientation core	8	8	0
Prismatic-like cores	3	7	0
Cores on flakes	21	7	0
Cores on pebbles	3	5	1
Splintered pieces	0	9	0
Tabular pieces	3	0	1
Amorphous/rough-outs	8	13	0
Fragments	22	13	2
Total	113	72	4

Our analysis of the cores in particular at Lakonis pointed towards two systems of reduction, with little evidence for crosscutting between. Levallois cores in particular remained as such throughout their use-lives and even when exhausted were not transformed into other less formal types or tools. In the same way there was no evidence for less formal cores being subsequently worked using the Levallois technique, although there was the

possibility for them to be transformed into heavy-duty tools. With retouched tools there was also a significant correlation between Levallois blanks and more deliberate retouch, although many tools were made on blanks which could not be definitely attributed to one form of core working or the other. Our work on the cores suggested a separation between Levallois and non-Levallois based knapping and that once the processing of a core had begun there was no blurring of these divisions. We suggest that these two forms of working were the result of rule-based social learning on the one hand and individual expediency on the other. The extent to which one or the other approach prevailed would depend on personal skill, availability and quality of raw materials, time stress and risk, as well as how the tools were required to perform in use.

Discussion

Our analysis of the assemblage and, in particular, that of the cores, has suggested a significant degree of flexibility in the types of flaking strategies employed at Lakonis and their outcomes. Although individuals were operating within a Levallois framework, other methods of core reduction were also in use, geared towards less design-critical blanks and more expedient forms of tools. We suggest that day-to-day activities were probably carried out using these, while more specific formal types, such as points or large scrapers, were more often made on Levallois blanks. Although less clear cut, analysis of the retouched tools also suggested the dual character of the assemblage, with "formal" Levallois and "informal" non-Levallois blank-based tools. Levallois based tools tended to be more carefully retouched, for example Mousterian and retouched Levallois points, although we are mindful of the potential circularity of this argument. Moreover we detected no change in the proportions of "formal" versus "informal" types through time (Elefanti 2011), which suggests that these alternative approaches were embedded within the tool repertoire and that this duality was continuous at Lakonis, or at least any shifts were too small to be archaeologically detectable. This degree of continuity suggests that the two approaches were embedded within tool manufacture, while the long term continuity of the Levallois technique in particular suggests a learned practice. In this sense, we believe that the concept of complementary flaking techniques employed at the site, represent the result of social intelligence and bodily executed traditions (Ingold 1993, 431).

During the tool making process a number of technical elements were involved, including selection of raw materials, skilled working of cores and transformation of the blanks produced, as well as the original concept of what the artefact should look like when finished. Together these components form what has been referred to as the constellation of knowledge (Sinclair 2000, 200). However, as has been pointed out, a constellation is also reflexive, as many criteria which have to do with efficiency, aesthetics, style or prestige all play their part in the success of the process. This is what has been described as hybrid culture where the person and the object contribute equally in the process (Gamble 2007, 96–7).

Moreover, a distinction has been made between technique on the one hand and technology on the other (Ingold 1993). Technique is embedded in the plan and experience of the individual in the shaping of things and is applicable to both "formal" and "informal" types. It is the means by which the individual executes the tool in mind. These techniques can be more or less strongly associated with the identity of the individual within the community, based on their complexity and repeated use across time and space. Technology is an abstraction, a means of describing and categorising repetitive tool types. These represent the results of both the individual's knowledge of the mechanical principles of the tool in use, while at the same time being bound up within local traditions and styles. Technique thus places the subject at the centre of activity, while technology affirms the independence of production from human subjectivity (Ingold 1993, 434).

Drawing on this distinction, we consider that Levallois core flaking can be considered in terms of the concept of technique as described above, with core preparation used to predetermine the shape of blanks produced. These may be oval or rounded, convergent or pointed flakes, blades or side-struck flakes. The key to this technique is the volumetric principle, with the core made up of two opposing convex surfaces, hierarchically related to each other in a fixed and non-interchangeable manner (Boëda 1995). As a result there is less scope for the individual with the technique based on a fixed form of core which requires a set sequence of operational steps to produce. These are repeated despite differences in raw materials and the degree of working, with a similar outcome. Moreover, Levallois cores tend to remain as such and are not reworked or transformed. The use of the Levallois technique

remains constant over 200,000 years and covers much of the old world. The Levallois tradition represents the major technological hallmark of the Middle Palaeolithic and does not continue into the Upper Palaeolithic with the disappearance of its biological carriers, providing the social signature for the individuals and groups who operated within this tradition.

In contrast, non-Levallois cores required less rule-oriented working, and were not as demanding in terms of raw material quality and size. The outcome of this sort of core working is less distinctive of a particular period. Splintered pieces are typical of these more expedient type of cores, which also include flake, tabular and amorphous types. These were less fixed in terms of their form and how they were made; rather they were a function of raw materials, starting configuration and the skill of the knapper. In this sense these cores can be considered as more reflective of expediency by the individual, rather than of the constraints imposed by more structured approaches such as Levallois.

During the Palaeolithic, the manufacture and use of chipped stone artefacts was an indispensable part of daily life. Recent anthropological evidence suggests that tool making was part of a cultural process during which the young were taught by older and more experienced members of the community. Being a complicated and multi-levelled process, knowledge transmission takes place through observation, imitation and direct teaching (Hewlett *et al*. 2011). This is a continual process but gatherings such as around hearths would have provided one context in which group level social interaction and learning would have taken place (Gamble 1999, 71). In the same way as many other Palaeolithic sites in Greece, Klisoura 1 (Karkanas *et al*. 2004), Theopetra (Karkanas 1999), Klithi and Kastritsa (Galanidou 1997), the organisation of space at Lakonis appears to be focused around large hearth complexes.

The hearths at Lakonis consist of cemented ash within anthropogenic layers, while below are sediments disturbed through repeated raking out of debris to create the shallow depression in which the next fire was set. The hearths were roughly circular with a diameter of about 1 m and extended to a thickness of approximately 1 m. On its eastern edge, the main hearth was bounded by a natural alignment of rocks from an earlier roof collapse. This formed an outer ring, which would have reflected heat back onto those sitting around the fire (Panagopoulou *et al*. 2002–4). Recent evidence has suggested that hearths were not a prerequisite for everyday life during the Middle Palaeolithic (Sandgath *et al*. 2011). However, the prominence of this feature at Lakonis suggests that apart from cooking, warmth and light, it served as area focus around which individuals congregated. Through social acts such as food preparation and consumption, tool making, gossiping and information exchange, the Neanderthal occupants of Lakonis would have expressed their embodied personal and social identity.

Further work on the assemblage and inclusion of the material from the 2010 field season will allow us to look in more detail at the technology. In particular we will be carrying out spatial studies in order to determine whether activity areas can be identified on the basis of variable proportions of formal and informal tools, debitage and cores. One area in particular contains an extensive bone breccia which is indicative of butchery and carcass processing and it is our aim to further test the suggested technological dichotomy.

Despite the obvious difficulty of attempting to infer detailed human behaviour from palimpsests which transcend centuries or even millennia, we have attempted to move beyond descriptive categories, to a more personal and intimate snapshot of the lives of individuals during the Middle Palaeolithic at Lakonis. The above discussion focused on aspects of lithic technology in order to investigate ways in which individual actions can be inferred from the material world in the residues of day-to-day activities such as tool making.

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16

Picrolite and Other Stone Beads and Pendants: New Forms in an Old Material during the Transition from the Chalcolithic to the Cypriot Bronze Age

Giorgos Georgiou

Introduction

This paper focuses on the fact that picrolite, an indigenous stone that was extensively used during the Chalcolithic period (4000/3900–2500/2400 BC) for the manufacture of small figurines and other symbolic artefacts, was used in the Early and Middle Cypriot periods (2400–1700 BC) for the production of pendants in new forms. Although the relatively limited number and contextual information available for Bronze Age objects leaves little opportunity to consider in detail how they were perceived by their makers and wearers, they can nevertheless be used to give insights into their significance and the way in which they embodied identity and cultural value. The renewed symbolic use of picrolite in a different social context deserves special attention. Its persistent use in a radically new cultural environment as a valued material of symbolic power is particularly suitable for investigating ideological shifts and redefinition processes during this transitional period. It is suggested here that the extended use of picrolite as a prestige good into the Bronze Age was a result of the exchange of goods and ideas between indigenous "Chalcolithic" people and newcomers to the island (Webb and Frankel 1999, 41–3; Frankel and Webb 2004, 7; Knapp 2008, 127).

It is important to note that the manufacture of stone pendants and beads during the transition from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age involved the introduction to Cyprus of two technological novelties. The first was a technique that produced thin flat plaques out of extremely hard stones, introduced during the Late Chalcolithic period (2700–2500/2400 BC) (Aikman 1978). The second, not noted until now, required the use of a type of tubular drill that allowed the incising of a concentric-circles motif and the cutting of cylindrical beads. The new drilling technique constituted an element of the new technologies associated with the Philia Bronze Age culture. As such, it formed part of the *habitus* of both producers and consumers, whereby unconscious and embedded techniques characterised identity – perhaps not recognised at the time, but visible to us through our analyses. Such new processes allowed the production of different artefact forms using available raw materials, but the selection and development of these forms was culturally, not technologically determined. It is not without significance that people in Cyprus chose at this time to adorn themselves with items that demonstrated in an explicit way the technological novelties that formed part of their *habitus* (Frankel 2000).

Picrolite in the Bronze Age

Picrolite is the name used in Cyprus geological terminology to describe an indigenous stone of the Troodos ophiolithic formation. Its colour ranges from shades of light green to blue. The sources of picrolite are located in the higher central Troodos mountains, and water-worn pebbles of this stone can, therefore, be collected only in the riverbeds of two major rivers which drain this area, the Kouris and Karkotis (Peltenburg 1991, 109, fig. 2; Xenophontos 1991, fig. 3).

Although picrolite artefacts had already appeared during the early Aceramic Neolithic period (Cypro–PPNB) (8500/8400–6800 BC) (Guilaine 2003, 336–9), it is during the Chalcolithic that an abrupt increase in the use of this material is observed (Peltenburg 1982, 49; Peltenburg *et al*. 2006, 98). During the Early and Middle Bronze Age, picrolite was also used for the manufacture of beads and pendants. The pendants can be classed in two groups: (1) those which appear in forms with precursors in Cypriot Chalcolithic contexts (Type A), and (2) those in forms that are Bronze Age novelties in the Cypriot repertory of personal ornaments (Type B). Both types, A and B, can be further categorised as belonging to sub-type a of oval/circular section, or sub-type b of flat section. Within these broad groups, pendants can be additionally subdivided according to the typology presented in Table 16.1. The proposed typological scheme has been devised solely for the purposes of this paper and is not intended as yet another typology for stone pendants. The division according to the section of the stone pendant (oval/circular or flat) is based on a previous observation by Peltenburg (*et al*. 1985, 283), and is adopted for the purposes of this paper as each type is associated with a different technique of manufacture.

Pendants with Chalcolithic precursors

Known examples of Bronze Age picrolite pendants with Chalcolithic precursors are listed in Table 16.2. Pendant types of both oval/circular and flat section which appeared during the Chalcolithic period continued to be produced in the Early and Middle Bronze Age. Anthropomorphic picrolite figurines, which were worn as pendants (Type A.a.iv), ceased however to be produced after the end of the Chalcolithic. As figurines are of high symbolic value, their disappearance suggests important shifts in the ways body ornamentation was used to construct identity. By the same token, the survival of other pendant types with oval/circular section (Types A.a.i, A.a.ii and A.a.iii) into the Bronze Age should not be overlooked.

Table 16.1: Typology of picrolite Bronze Age pendants

a. Pendants of oval/circular section		*a. Pendants of oval/circular section*	
A.a.i	Pebble-shaped	None	
A.a.ii	Drop-shaped		
A.a.iii	Ridged cylindrical		
A.a.iv	Anthropomorphic		
b. Flat pendants		*b. Flat pendants*	
A.b.i	Flat rectangular	B.b.i	Spurred annular
A.b.ii	Flat triangular or inverted-V	B.b.ii	Long flat rectangular
A.b.iii	Flat oblong elliptical	B.b.iii	"Comb" (triangular & rectangular)
		B.b.iv	Plano-convex

Table 16.2: Bronze Age picrolite pendants and their Chalcolithic precursors

A. Pendants with Chalcolithic precursors		
Type	*Bronze Age examples*	*Chalcolithic precursors*
a. Pendants of oval/circular section		
A.a.i	**Episkopi-***Phaneromeni*: Swiny 1986, 28, fig. 21:S17. **Sotira-***Kaminoudhia*: Swiny *et al.* 2003, 233, no. S542, fig. 6.15. **Kissonerga-***Ammouthkia*: Tomb 26, no. 25 (Raptou personal communication)	**Erimi**: Dikaios 1939, 54, pl. xxix:2. **Kissonerga-***Mosphilia* (Periods 3 & 4): Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 234, Type 2.1, fig. 97:11.
A.a.ii	**Nicosia-***Agia Paraskevi* Tomb 4, nos 19 & S1: Hennessy *et al.* 1988, 14, fig. 12:1. **Lofou-***Chomatsies*: Herscher and Swiny 1992, 81, pl. xv:5, fig. 3.7. **Limassol** Tomb 129, no. 14. **Sotira-***Kaminoudhia*: Swiny *et al.* 2003, 233, no. S140, fig. 6.15.	**Erimi**: Dikaios 1939, 54, pl. xxix:4. **Kissonerga-***Mosphilia* (Periods 3 & 4): Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 234, Type 2.15, fig. 97: 26–8. **Kissonerga-***Mylouthkia*: Peltenburg *et al.* 2003, 191, Type 2.15, pl. 70:6–8. **Souskiou-***Vathyrkakas*: Peltenburg *et al.* 2006, 97, 2.10 & 2.15, pls 26.7 & 29.6. **Lempa-***Lakkous* (Periods 1–3 & ?): Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, 284, Types 1.4 & 2.6, pl. 46:14 & 21, fig. 83:17.
A.a.iii	**Episkopi-***Phaneromeni*: Swiny 1986, 31, figs 20 & 51c: S139 & S258.	**Erimi**: Dikaios 1939, 54, no. 925. **Kissonerga-***Mosphilia* (Periods 3 & 4): Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 234, Type 2.16, fig. 98:4. **Lemba-***Lakkous* (Period 1–3): Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, 284, Type 1.1, fig. 83:1 & 6.
A.a.iv	None.	Various sites, where anthropomorphic figurines of picrolite have been found.
b. Flat pendants		
A.b.i	**Episkopi-***Phaneromeni*: Swiny 1986, 30, fig. 20: S24–5. **Limassol** Tomb 129: 15 & 16: Karageorghis 1978, 888, figs 23–4. **Sotira-***Kaminoudhia*: Swiny *et al.* 2003, 233, 235, nos S165 and S663, fig. 6.15.	**Kissonerga-***Mosphilia* (Period 4): Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 234, Type 2.2, fig. 97: 9 & 19. **Lemba-***Lakkous* (Period 3): Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, 284, Type 2.2, fig. 83: 10–11.
A.b.ii	**Limassol-***Agios Nikolaos*: LM 629/13. **Unprovenanced**: Lubsen Admiraal 2004, 29, no. 18, 35, no. 32.	**Erimi**: Dikaios 1939, 54, pl. xxix:3. **Souskiou-***Vathyrkakas*: Peltenburg *et al.* 2006, 97, Types 2.23, pl. 16: 4–5.
A.b.iii	**Unprovenanced**: Karageorghis 1999, 63, no. 39.	**Lemba-***Lakkous* (Period ?): Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, 284, Type 2.8, pl. 46: 16, fig. 83: 19.

In particular, Type A.a.ii (Type 2.15 in Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 234; 2003, 191) is the only pendant type with Chalcolithic precursors that is attested in contexts of the Philia phase (Hennessy *et al.* 1988, 14, fig. 12.1). It was found in the same tomb assemblage at Nicosia-*Agia Paraskevi* that included a large number of picrolite pendants of Type B.b.i, a form that is a Bronze Age novelty. Although evidence for Bronze Age occurrences of flat Types A.b.ii and A.b.iii is less solid, the survival of the Late Chalcolithic Type A.b.i through the Early Bronze Age is securely documented (Table 16.2). A noticeable preponderance of flat stone pendants in the Late Chalcolithic period (Peltenburg *et al.* 1985, 285) leaves no doubt that the technology necessary to produce such thin plaques was introduced at this time.

Pendants in new forms

The novel technology which allowed the production of extremely thin stone plaques was used during the Early Bronze Age for the manufacture of an array of flat pendants with no Chalcolithic precursors, *i.e.* pendants of Type B. In this respect, it is important to note that none of the new picrolite pendant types is of oval/circular section (Type B.a in Table 16.1).

Pendants of Type B.b.i, the "spurred annular pendants" (Webb and Frankel 1999, 34; 2012, 213; Stewart 1962, 264, 356; Hennessy *et al.* 1988, 14–5; Swiny *et al.* 2003, 236), are thought to represent the local adaptation of a type imported to Cyprus from western and central Anatolia, where it was produced until the second half of the 3rd millennium (Kouka 2009, 35). Spurred annular pendants were also made of shell, bone or copper, but most examples are of picrolite. They have been found in tombs (Frankel and Webb 2004, 2–3) and in one settlement (Frankel and Webb 2006, 242–3, fig. 6.33). All the above examples are dated to the Philia phase. Of the non-picrolite specimens, most notable are eight examples found in Late Chalcolithic deposits at Kissonerga *Mosphilia*, (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 234, Type 2.12, fig. 98.1), although their attribution to a pre-Philia Bronze Age phase has been questioned (Webb and Frankel 2011, 33–4 *contra* Bolger 2013, 2, no. 2; Knapp 2013, 256).

Pendants of Type B.b.ii are thin, flat, roughly rectangular plaques with a perforated projection at the centre of their upper long side. On some examples this central suspension hole is the only perforation, while a second sub-type consists of examples with two more perforations at the corners of the opposite long side. The diagnostic feature of this type is two pointed down-turned projections at the corners of the upper long side. Three B.b.ii pendants with a known provenance were found in tombs in southwest Cyprus (Limassol: Karageorghis 1967, 306, 308, fig. 90; Lofou: Herscher and Swiny 1992, 80, fig. 3.4; Kissonerga: Raptou, pers. comm.). Four more examples are unprovenanced (Karageorghis 1999, 63–4, no. 40; Lubsen Admiraal 2004, 28–9, no. 16–17; Karageorghis and Webb 2011, 80, no. 118). Two unprovenanced terracotta models related to B.b.ii pendants (Karageorghis *et al.* 1974, 12, no. 10, fig. 10; *Bonhams Antiquities* 1998, 40, lot 127) confirm that these pendants were emulated for their symbolic value.

Type B.b.ii pendants may be related to Egyptian pendants, called "pelta-shaped palettes" or "double bird pendants" (Flinders Petrie 1920, 37, 38–9, pl. xliv: 101H, 101G, 101S), and it is possible picrolite was chosen because of its resemblance with siltstone used in Egypt. Egyptian pendants dated to the middle to late 4th millennium BC (Cialowicz 2001, 18; *Bonhams Antiquities* 2012, 21, lot 30). None of the three Cypriot examples of known provenance, however, can be dated before the last third of the 3rd millennium BC. Contemporary with the Cypriot B.b.ii pendants are the so-called "anchor amulets" found in Greece and the south Balkan peninsula (Banks 1967, 634–7; Hammond 1976, 109, pl. 6a), which are also similar in form to Cypriot B.b.ii pendants (especially type c in Banks 1967, 628–9, pl. 20c). Nevertheless, Type B.b.ii pendants cannot be considered as direct parallels of the Egyptian amulets because of their remote dating, or of the Balkan/Helladic amulets which are made of clay of rather coarse ware. Type B.b.ii pendants, however, can be classified among the new types of personal ornamentation influenced from foreign sources that were introduced to the island during the 3rd millennium BC (Bolger 2013, 10).

Picrolite "comb" pendants (Type B.b.iii) represent a roughly rectangular or triangular flat plaque with incised notches along the lower edge, reminiscent of a comb. Two "comb" pendants found at Episkopi (Swiny 1986, 29, nos S35 and S362, fig. 21) and two found at Erimi (Bombardieri 2011, 93, fig. 2; Bombardieri *et al.* 2011, 97, fig. 9) date to the EC III–MC II period (2000–1750/1700 BC). Two more examples are of unknown context (Morris 1985, 138, pl. 175; Lubsen Admiral 2004, 30, no. 19). A third unprovenanced B.b.iii pendant, published here for the first time (Fig. 16.1A, left), is discussed below.

"Comb" pendants have been variously interpreted as stone versions of terracotta comb-shaped figurines, dated to the Early and Middle Cypriot periods (Morris 1985, 138; Karageorghis 1991, 45–9, nos A5–A6), as "highly abstracted" human figures (Morris 1985, 138, 139–40, figs 193–4), as carding combs or necklace counterweights (Washbourne 2000, 96). A number of Red Polished vessels which are decorated with comb motifs rendered as highly stylised human figures (Lubsen Admiraal 2004, 61, no. 65; Karageorghis and Webb 2011, 36–7, no. 37) are consistent with the interpretation of B.b.iii pendants as stylised human figurines. Conversely, plank-shaped figurines which are represented wearing a comb-shaped pendant, either on their chest or their back (Morris 1985, figs 195–204, pl. 176,) may be interpreted as depicting comb models. Actual ivory combs found on the mainland (Potts 2003, 315, no. 212) are decorated with sets of concentric circles incised by a tubular drill, and a plank-shaped comb model bears sets of concentric circles (Karageorghis 1991, cat. no. A8).

Type B.b.iv pendants consist of a centrally perforated plano-convex disc. Examples include one from an Early Cypriot III context at Marki (Frankel and Webb 2006, 244, fig. 6.33) and others from Lofou (Herscher and Swiny 1992, 81, fig. 3.5), Pyrgos (Belgiorno 1995, 64, fig. 2) and Limassol (Karageorghis 1967, 306, fig. 89). Five more are of unknown provenance (Lubsen Admiraal 2004, 34, no. 28; Karageorghis and Webb 2011, 78–9, nos 112–15). The technical characteristics of Type B.b.iv artefacts suggest their use as pendants. It is important to note also that this novel form is often decorated with the concentric-circles motif, incised with the use of a tubular drill.

The flat stone plaque and the tubular drill

The flat pendant types discussed above would have been impossible to manufacture if a new technique for the production of thin flat stone plaques had not been introduced to Cyprus sometime during the 3rd millennium BC. The introduction of such a technique can also be deduced from developments in the ground stone industry which included the manufacture of new forms of flat stone tools during the Late Chalcolithic period. Ground stone blades,

formerly of circular or oval section, appear now in thin adze forms with flat profiles (Aikman 1978). These adzes, apparently imitating new forms of metal tools (Peltenburg 1982, 48), could not have been produced without a new technology which allowed the manufacture of thin plaques from hard stone.

Some of the picrolite pendants discussed above combine the technique for carving flat plaques with another novelty, a concentric-circles motif, consisting of drilled circles with a central dot. For example, both techniques appear on a Type B.b.iii picrolite pendant recently acquired by the Cyprus Museum (CM 2010/IV–30/2) (Fig. 16.1A, left). The concentric-circles motif is not found on any Chalcolithic bead or pendant, and an antler artefact decorated with the same motif from a Philia context at Marki (Frankel and Webb 2006, 194, B55, pl. 54, fig. 5.29) suggests that the tool used to incise it was actually a Philia novelty. Further questions arise regarding the form of this tool and the manufacture of a new type of tiny stone cylindrical bead that appeared during the Philia phase and was continuously used throughout the Early and Middle Cypriot periods (Georgiou *et al*. 2011, 308–10 with references). The great regularity observed in the perforation (which has an hourglass section) and outer walls of these beads indicates the use of some repetitive mechanical force, similar to that required for the incision of the concentric-circle motif. In fact, the microscopic view of pendant 2010/IV–30/2 shows that the concentric circles were carved with the use of a revolving drill (Fig. 16.1A, centre). This must have been a tubular drill with a three-pronged extremity, with the central prong longer than the other two, somewhat like a modern spade bit (Fig. 16.1B.a). Figure 16.1B.b–f shows how such a drill could carve cylindrical beads out of a flat plaque. Cylindrical beads known to have come from the same necklace are of varying diameter (Fig. 16.1A, right), which implies the use of several drills. Taking into consideration that such beads were made of extremely hard rock (Georgiou *et al*. 2011, 309), it could be proposed that these drills were made of copper and were used with an abrasive. If this is the case, such drills would be easily worn out and recycled, which may account for their absence from archaeological contexts.

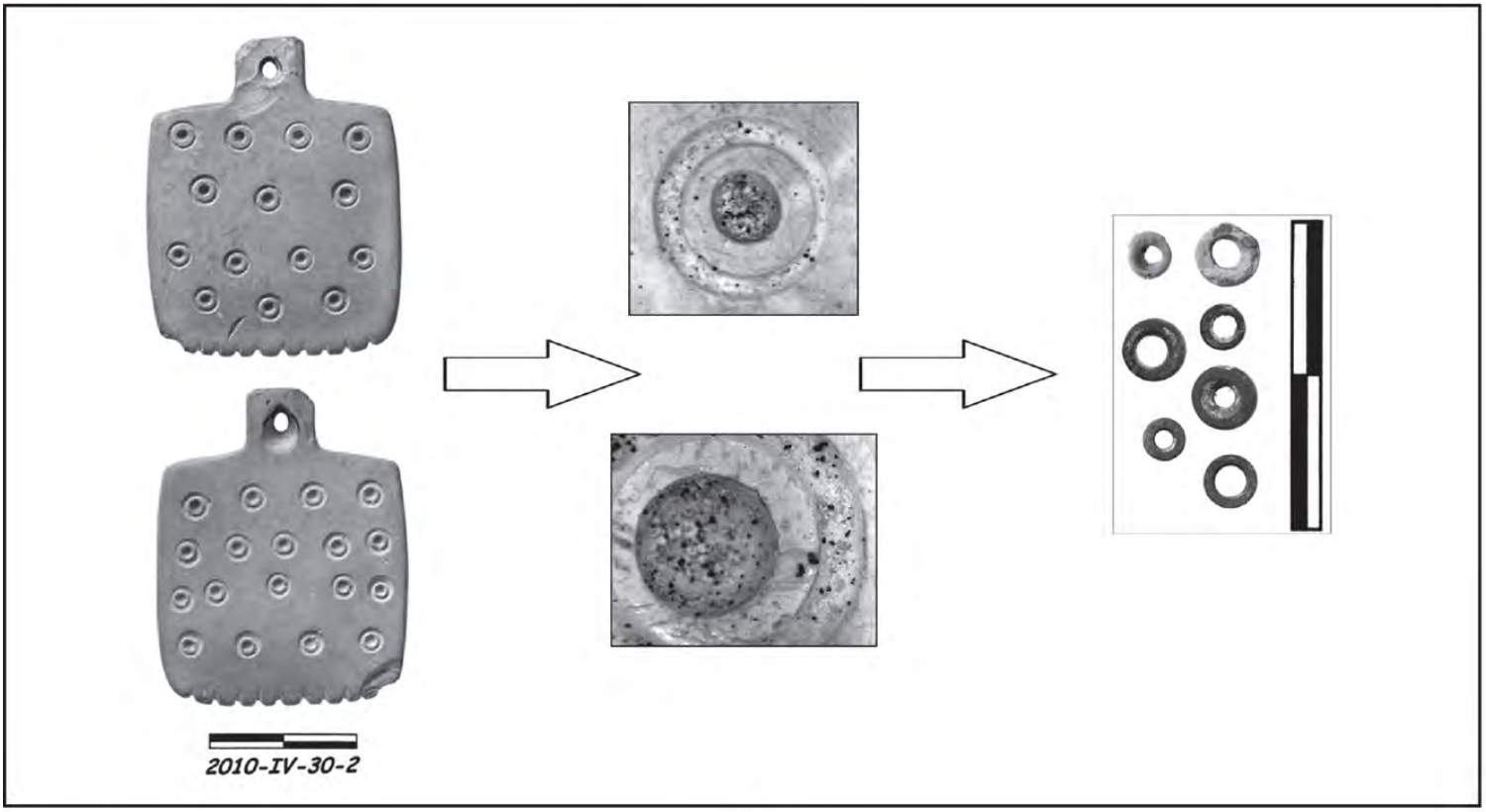
Tubular drills are attested in neighbouring countries during the 3rd millennium BC (Kenoyer 1997, 270–1), and this technology must have been transferred to Cyprus during the Early Bronze Age. It is, however, obvious from the above reconstruction that the use of the tubular drill was a specialised skill that is unlikely to have been transferred independently to Cyprus. Such a technical skill is best acquired through observation and association with expert practitioners (Frankel 2000, 179), and we should, therefore, consider it as belonging to a suite of new technologies that formed part of the *habitus* – and hence identity – of Philia communities.

The tubular drill in context

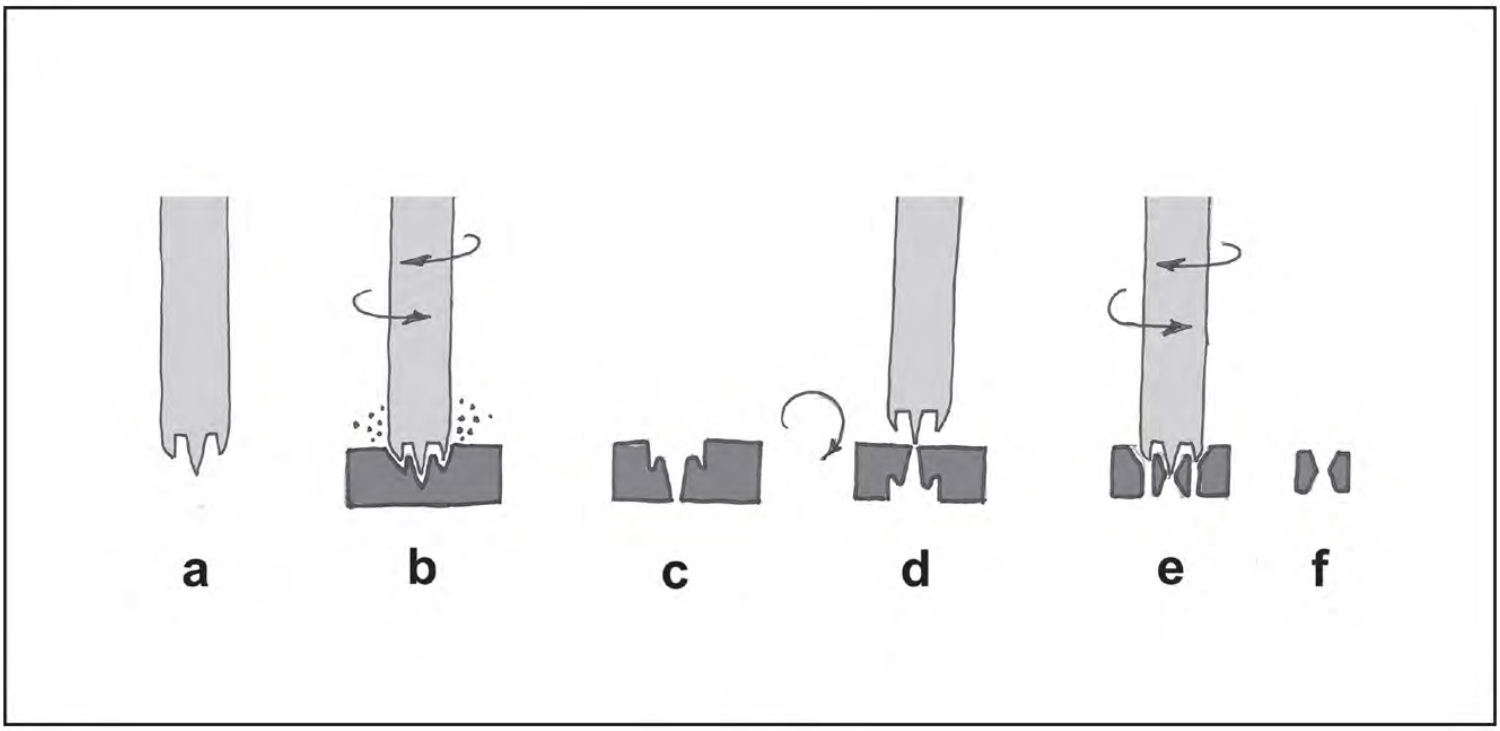
Who were the intended wearers of beads manufactured with the use of a tubular drill? What was the symbolism of the set-of-concentric-circles motif –if any – to the makers and the wearers of objects bearing this motif? Contextual evidence may shed some light on these questions.

(i) Bead necklaces in tomb assemblages

An analysis of tomb assemblages that have yielded beads made with tubular drills may reveal information about the age, sex and social status of the wearers of such necklaces. Table 16.3 shows all tomb assemblages from Sotira-*Kaminoudhia* and Psematismenos-*Trelloukkas* that have yielded necklaces with cylindrical beads (Swiny *et al*. 2003; Georgiou *et al*. 2011). All are dated either to the Philia or the Early Cypriot I–II periods. Tombs with single burials were separated from tombs with multiple burials. Analysis was limited to single burials, in order to ensure that all artefacts were related to the same individual. In the last column of Table 16.3 are included metal, terracotta, stone and shell artefacts, as well as flasks in Brown Polished and Red Polished I–II (incised) wares found at Psematismenos that have been shown by chemical analysis to have been imported to this settlement from other parts of the island (Georgiou *et al*. 2011, 265–9, figs 4.7, 4.8, 4.11).



A



B

Figure 16.1: a) The relation between the concentric-circles motif and the cylindrical beads; b) both carved by the same type of tubular drill (photos and drawings by author).

Table 16.3 shows that cylindrical beads were deposited with burials of children, sub-adults and adults. Unfortunately, human bone was too fragmentary to allow sex identification. In Sotira Tomb 6, beyond the presence of the beads, artefacts of non-native metal (tin bronze and electrum) suggest that the users of the tomb intended to demonstrate their access to overseas networks. In Psematismenos Tomb 118 a bead necklace accompanied a young adult along with a copper spearhead and two imported flasks. Flasks imported from other parts of Cyprus accompanied bead necklaces in six out of eight burials.

Table 16.3: Burial assemblages including stone beads made of tubular drill

Context	*Date*	*N of I*	*Age*	*Sex*	*Artefacts other than local ceramics*
SK Tomb 6	Philia	1	25–30	cba	2 electrum earrings 5 copper/bronze earrings 2 copper tools; 1 stone tool
SK Tomb 18	EC I–II	–	–	–	–
PT Tomb 80	EC I–II	1	16–18	cba	2 RPI; 2 BrP flasks
PT Tomb 92	EC I–II	1	2.5	cba	1 RPI flask
PT Tomb 93	EC I–II	1	adult	cba	1 copper tool (needle)
PT Tomb 103	EC I–II	1	a/sa	cba	1 terracotta spindle whorl 1 RPI; 2 BrP flasks
PT Tomb 107	EC I–II	1	a/sa	cba	1 BrP flask
PT Tomb 114	EC I–II	1	3.2	cba	1 RPI flask
PT Tomb 118	EC I–II	1	22–6	cba	1 copper spearhead 2 BrP flasks
PT Tomb 120	EC I–II	–	–	–	1 stone toy (?)
SK Tomb 15	Philia	3	adults	M and F	6 picrolite/1 shell annular amulets 2 copper earrings 2 copper tools; 1 stone tool
PT Tomb 96	EC I–II	3	1a/2sa	cba	1 BrP flask
PT Tomb 108	EC I–II	2	2.5/40	cba	2 BrP flasks 1 elaborate tulip bowl (local)
PT Tomb 117	EC I–II	3	20s	cba	1 BrP flask; 1 tulip bowl (local)
PT Tomb 123	EC I–II	4	1a/3sa	cba	1 RPI flask
PT Tomb 124	EC I–II	9		1M/ 8cba	22 RPI and BrP flasks 3 tulip bowls (local) 14 pebbles

SK: Sotira *Kaminoudhia*; PT: Psematismenos *Trelloukkas*; Philia: Philia Phase; EC: Early Cypriot; N of I: number of individuals; a: adult; sa: sub-adult; M: male; F: female; cba: sex could not be ascertained; RPI: Red Polished I–II (incised); BrP: Brown Polished

(ii) Bead inlays in ceramic vessels

Ceramic vessels with cylindrical beads inlaid on their surface have been found in Nicosia-*Agia Paraskevi* tombs (Hadjicosti 1992, 113–7, figs 4–6).

(iii) Plank-shaped figurines with beads or concentric circles

A plank-shaped terracotta figurine from Nicosia-*Agia Paraskevi* Tomb 50 (no. 6) bears on its chest rows of paste inlays imitating cylindrical beads. Many of the plank figurines are decorated with concentric circles either on the face to indicate the eyes (Karageorghis 1991, cat. nos Ba2, Ba3, Bb1, Bc1, Bc2, Bc3), or on the body (Karageorghis 1991, cat. nos Bd2, Bd8, Bd11, Bd14, Bd16).

Artefacts with probable symbolic significance, decorated with sets of concentric circles, have been found in Anatolia and Mesopotamia. They represent female human figures with accentuated sexual characteristics or horned animals. They include (i) alabaster plank-shaped female figurines with sets of concentric circles in place of the eyes (Collins 2003, 163, no. 106) and over the whole surface of the body (Goodarzi 2003, 274–5, no. 180), from Syria and Anatolia respectively, and (ii) copper horned-animal figurines with inlaid beads (de Lapérouse 2003, 82, no. 41) and sets of concentric circles (Muscarella 2003, 278, no. 78) from Mesopotamia and Anatolia respectively. We could suggest that the symbolic significance embodied in cylindrical beads and the concentric-circles motif on the mainland was adopted in Cyprus, and both features were associated with technological innovations.

Technology, pendants and identity

Technology is only one pillar of social structure in any given society. It is a socially charged process in which "agents express and negotiate social relationships, establish and express value systems, and give meaning to the object world" (Dobres 2000, 162). Humans make choices, hold intentions and take actions. However, their efforts to shape their lives are conditioned by wider socioeconomic circumstances, social institutions and structures (Dobres and Robb 2000, 5). Acknowledging technological production as a social process, leads us to ask the following questions: Who was manufacturing the beads and pendants discussed in this paper and what was their intended use? How were they perceived by their makers and wearers? Answers to such questions can be provided only within the wider socioeconomic environment in Cyprus during the Chalclolithic/Bronze Age transition, as we understand and perceive it through archaeological evidence.

The anthropomorphic imagery manufactured during the Chalcolithic period in a characteristic indigenous style (cruciform figurines, Type A.a.iv) and in a distinct local material (picrolite) has been interpreted as resulting from a decision by island communities not to engage in wider social networks (Bolger 2013, 15). Equally, the introduction of new forms of foreign-inspired body ornamentation may have resulted from a deliberate choice by different regions and communities in Cyprus to engage in expanding trade networks (Bolger 2013, 10–1, 15). This is particularly evident with pendant Types B.b.i, B.b.ii and possibly B.b.iii.

Of equal importance was the choice to manufacture these new Bronze Age forms in the same indigenous, distinctly Cypriot material as the earlier Chalcolithic pendants. Patterns of manipulation and the symbolic significance of picrolite was part of a pre-existing Chalcolithic *habitus* which crossed the barrier separating Philia and Late Chalcolithic groups (Frankel 2000, 182). Picrolite, through its specific use during the Chalcolithic period *de facto* embodied a notion of indigenous identity, and its adoption by Bronze Age newcomers may indicate a conscious decision on their part to adjust to their new homeland. The survival into the Bronze Age of Chalcolithic pendant types of oval/circular section (Types A.a.i, A.a.ii and A.a.iii) and flat section (Type A.b.i) may be viewed in a similar way. During the Late Chalcolithic period these non-human forms were the outcome of influence from foreign sources (Bolger 2013, 9–10). Their continued use in the Bronze Age, therefore, may be a further manifestation of the bi-directional movement of concepts of value and ideas surrounding embodied practices between Philia and Chalcolithic communities.

Conclusions

The above analysis has demonstrated that flat picrolite pendants, their decoration with concentric circles, and cylindrical beads were all products of two technological novelties, namely the flat stone plaque, introduced to Cyprus during the Late Chalcolithic period, and the tubular drill, introduced during the Early Bronze Age. The introduction of these two technological innovations can be understood only within the wider context of the social transformation that the communities of Cyprus underwent during this period.

There can be little doubt that picrolite was highly valued during the Philia period and moving beyond its traditional range. Several explanations have been suggested (Webb and Frankel 1999, 41). The production and distribution of picrolite may have been absorbed into or appropriated by new, Philia-based networks of exchange and alliance at the end of the Chalcolithic. Alternatively, the movement of picrolite beyond the source area in the southwest may reflect an overlap in the exchange networks of incoming and indigenous communities. The latter implies a significant degree of bi-directional interaction, as well as the application of an intrusive technology (tubular drill) on an indigenous material, and may offer further insights into processes of hybridisation. Certainly the social or cultural shifts which allowed the continued use of "old" materials, the performance of new production methods and the adoption of new material forms are major issues for future research.

The material qualities of picrolite (colour and lustre), in combination with its geographical origin (indigenous), may have had a twofold connotation for Bronze Age Cypriots. Its visual character paralleled that of faience, a novelty imported from the mainland (Peltenburg *et al*. 2006, 170). At the same time, its indigenous origin made picrolite a symbol of the island itself. The attribution to picrolite of an ambiguous symbolism incorporating both notions of *native* and *foreign* may have been deliberate, since "ambiguous meanings and perceptions that emerge in establishing identity can serve to bridge cultural differences and solidify relationships" (Knapp 2008, 64).

At present the evidence suggests clear shifts in embodiment practices across the Chalcolithic/Bronze Age transition and varied processes of hybridisation and integration between incoming and indigenous groups across the island (Frankel 2000, fig. 10; Knapp 2008, 128). The archaeological record for both Late Chalcolithic and Philia Bronze Age communities, however, remains limited and a more explicit understanding of how the use of picrolite and the adoption of related technologies and products shaped identities in Bronze Age Cyprus through bodily performance must await a significantly expanded data base.

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17

The Embodiment of Land Ownership in the Aegean Early Bronze Age

Ourania Kouka

Definition: tracing land ownership in pre-Bronze Age societies

> "*To embody* is to put into a body an idea or spirit, to give a concrete form to or to express (principles, thoughts, or intentions) within art, action, word combinations, or institutions. Thus, an *embodiment* of an idea or principle refers to its physical form, its realization or expression, or the incarnation of that idea" (Hansen 2003).

Following the aforementioned definition, which corresponds also to theoretical approaches of embodiment and its perception (Merleau-Ponty 1964, 159–90; Lesure 2005), it is argued that the built environment demonstrates from prehistoric times an anthropogenic system of closed and open spaces for hosting every-day life, economic, social and symbolic activities. It represents, therefore, an agent through which the needs, abilities and habits of humans are embodied, but also the field for economic and social interaction. Moreover, built environment – domestic, funeral, and sacred – displays the existential ground of culture that allows the identification of its cognitive creator and owner.

Ownership is a term defined meticulously by lawyers and economists and has been so far analysed with greater precision by cultural and economic anthropologists (North 1981; Waldron 1988; Munzer 1990; Hunt 1997; Hunt and Gilman 1998) than by archaeologists (Earle 2000; Relaki and Catapoti 2013). It is generally accepted that ownership is a multi-dimensional term, as it refers to movable and fixed (land) belongings of humans. In addition to private ownership there is also communal/public ownership, which refers to the movable and fixed belongings of a community. Furthermore, ownership determines the economic relationships between people and creates social classes and ranked societies. Similar conclusions have also been reached by archaeologists through recent approaches to land ownership (Relaki and Catapoti 2013), who stress that:

> "… land ownership and other 'land matters' are better seen as social relations between people, operating at a variety of time and space scales and linking the economic with the ideological and the material with the symbolic. Such a viewpoint has fluidity and an open-ended character, allows for the dynamic interplay between different factors in land connections and can create greater conceptual and analytical potential for archaeology" (Souvatzi 2013, 40).

It is far easier and safer to define ownership in literate societies spanning the Protohistoric and Historical periods. This is the case for example in Late Bronze Age mainland Greece, where Linear B clay tablets found in Mycenaean palaces (*e.g.* the Palace of Nestor in Pylos) offer information regarding palaces' ownership of movable property, its disposal within and outside their territories (Stavrianopoulou 1989, 7–23). Moreover, land ownership, land tenure and transfer of land is so far a well discussed aspect of studies on early urban societies of Mesopotamia, based on selected analysis of written evidence provided by palace, temple, and private archives of the 3rd millennium BC onwards (Kozyreva 1999; van de Mieroop 1999; Steinkeller 1999).

However, in the case of nonliterate societies the following questions arise:

1. Is it possible to trace the beginnings of the economic and social aspect of ownership?
2. How can ownership be detected in nonliterate societies of the Stone and the Bronze Ages?
3. Is land ownership a Neolithic phenomenon that starts with the foundation of the first permanent settlements at around the middle of the 11th millennium BC?

The answers to the above questions can be summarised respectively as follows:

1. Private ownership goes as far back as the earliest presence of humans and can be detected in the first stone tools produced, owned and used in the Lower Palaeolithic (Gamble 1999, 132 –5, 159–64).
2. Land ownership can be traced in the periodical use of caves already in the Lower Palaeolithic. Moreover, caves in France and Spain, richly decorated with rock paintings were used not only for housing but also for symbolic-religious purposes (Lorblanchet 1997). The latter argument indicates the existence of communal ownership by more than one group of hunters-gatherers in Upper Palaeolithic Europe.
3. Ownership can be detected in the material culture of Neolithic and Bronze Age societies, and includes architecture (houses, settlement enclosures and/or fortifications, communal and buildings of special function, etc.), pottery and small finds.

Considering that "… land should not be treated as a simple object to be controlled and owned, but it should rather form part of a person's identity" (Relaki and Catapoti 2013, 13), private and communal land ownership can be traced more effectively from the Neolithic period onwards, as the selected examples below demonstrate. Private land ownership can be detected in the remains of successive architectural phases of Pre-Pottery Neolithic settlements, such as Aşıklı Höyük (Phases 1–3; Phase 2 with ten subphases; 8500–7400 BC) in Cappadocia (Esin and Harmankaya 1999, 118–26, figs 3–12), or in Pottery Neolithic settlements, such as Çatal Höyük-East (18 Phases; 7400–6000 BC) in Central Anatolia (Mellaart 1967, 54–66, pls 4–10; Hodder and Matthews 1988, figs 6.1, 6.3; Hodder 1999, 159–62, fig. 2; 2007). In both cases, standardised, rectangular or trapezoidal house forms were built and rebuilt over millennia only with mudbricks at the same locations according to almost the same dimensions and with identical facilities. The houses have produced a comparable quality of pottery and small finds thus suggesting their continuous occupation by the same groups.

Apart from the existence of private land ownership in Neolithic societies, communal ownership can be traced in the long-term use of religious buildings, as well as in the restriction of sacred buildings of Pre-Pottery Neolithic A–B (PPNA–B) sites located at the "Golden Triangle" between the Tigris and the Euphrates (Aurenche 2007, 51–2). Communal buildings have been recognised by their excavators at Çayönü, Nevalı Çori and Göbekli Tepe. The PPNB Flagstone Building and the Terrazzo Building at Çayönü are the most distinctive ones regarding both their exceptional architectural form and their interior architectural details (floor paved with flagstones, red-coloured terrazzo, central limestone pillars) that attest to their use for religious purposes (Özdoğan 1999, fig. 18; Aurence 2007, 60–1, figs a, c). Furthermore, the Scull Building, dedicated to ancestor worship, was used for at least six phases (Middle–Late PPNB: 8500–7000 BC; Özdoğan 1999, 51–2, figs 21–6; Aurenche 2007, 60, fig. b). Additional PPNB communal buildings with a symbolic-religious use include the successive Terrazzo Buildings II and III at Nevalı Çori which stood in the settlement in isolation from the houses and were partially surrounded by a stone terrace wall (Hauptmann 1999, 74–5, figs 2–4, 7–9; 2007). Finally, at the PPNA–B (*c*. 9700–7800 BC) site of Göbekli Tepe, an area accessible though a megalithic propylon and defined by numerous circular buildings with T-shaped pillars featuring elaborate relief decoration, has been interpreted as a communal symbolic place for the

population groups inhabiting the north Mesopotamia (Hauptmann 1999, 78–80, figs 23–35; Schmidt 2006; 2007).

Land ownership in the Aegean Early Bronze Age (*c*. 3200–2000 BC)

The above remarks serve as an introduction to the discussion that follows, which deals with the "decipherment" of the embodied land ownership based on the archaeological record of early urban, nonliterate Aegean societies of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) (for map and chronological charts see Kouka 2002, Karte 2, tab. 1; Alram-Stern 2004, tab. 1–8, folded map). For the purposes of this paper only selected examples from the north and east Aegean and from mainland Greece will be presented. There will be no reference to evidence from the Cyclades and Crete, since the overwhelming majority of EBA data derives from cemeteries, while new settlements are currently being excavated or their publication is still in progress (*e.g*. Skarkos on Ios, Daskaleio on Keros, Trypiti on Crete).

The discussion on the early urban settlements of the north and east Aegean will be based on an integrated analysis of the island societies of this area (Poliochni on Lemnos, Thermi on Lesbos, Emporio on Chios, Heraion on Samos) undertaken by the author in the 1990s (Kouka 2002). Moreover, older and recent excavations of Western Asia Minor littoral (Troy, Liman Tepe, Bakla Tepe) and Palamari on Skyros will also be considered. Evidence from mainland Greece will draw from the well excavated and published sites of the Early Helladic period (EH) (Lerna and Tiryns in the Argolid, Kolona on Aegina, Lithares and Thebes in Boeotia, Agios Kosmas in Attica, Manika on Euboea), that have also been the subject of a multi-criteria analysis undertaken by Konsola and Pullen (Konsola 1984; Pullen 1985; Hägg and Konsola 1986). The above-mentioned sites have produced three to twenty successive architectural phases, have been inhabited throughout the EBA, and have been classified as chiefdoms with early urban characteristics (Konsola 1984, 163–73; Pullen 1985; Hägg and Konsola 1986; Kouka 2002, 295–302). These societies were stratified and included a political authority, an economic elite of metalworkers/traders, as well as specialised craftsmen and farmers (Kouka 2002, 297–8).

The spatial analysis of the above-mentioned island settlement sites of the north and east Aegean in semi-micro and micro levels, as defined by Clarke (1977), has focused on architecture (settlement planning, house forms, internal features), as well as on a quantitative and qualitative analysis and distribution of pottery and small finds. This approach resulted on one hand in the distinction of communal and private spaces, and on the other in the definition of economic, social and political structures within the analysed settlements (Kouka 2002, 295–302). Moreover, the spatial analysis through the study of the distribution of communal, domestic and industrial activities has led to the identification of: (a) communal and private land ownership, (b) inheritance of land, profession and status (Kouka 2002, 127–8, 223–4), (c) the connection between political authority and land distribution, and (d) the association between social stratification and land ownership in the stratified societies of the Aegean EBA.

Communal land ownership

The location of a settlement, the erection, preservation and further extension of simple or complex fortification systems, the use of a specific settlement plan based on the population's size and growth, and its replacement by new ones during the settlements' architectural history, the use of standard house forms, the erection of buildings with specialised functions, the planning of streets or squares, as well as the existence of water-supply or water-drainage systems suggest collective decisions of the Aegean EBA communities under the coordination of a political authority. In other words, they suggest management of the communal land as will be demonstrated by the examples discussed below.

1. Fortifications

During the Early Bronze (hereafter EB) I period stone fortification walls strengthened by rectangular bastions or ditches have been used in Poliochni Blue–Green (Kouka 2002, 47–8, 64–5, 120–23, pls 3, 5), Thermi I–IIIB (Kouka 2002, 238–42, pls 12, 15, 18, 21), Troy I early–middle (Kouka 2002, 298–9, fig. 56a; Ünlüsoy 2006, 135–6, figs 1, 4), Liman Tepe VI (Erkanal 1999, 238, pl. lii.b–c; Erkanal 2008a, 181, figs 3–6) and Bakla Tepe–EB I (Erkanal 1999, 239, pl. lii.d; Erkanal and Özkan 1999, 121–4, figs 23–5; Erkanal 2008b, 167, figs 2d, 9). Due to population

growth and escalating economic power of the above-mentioned settlements in the EB II period, an extension of their fortifications took place. Massive gateways flanked by rectangular bastions were built in Poliochni Red and Yellow (Kouka 2002, 78–80, 96–8, 123–8, pls 7, 9), Thermi IVB and V (Kouka 2002, 226–7, 242–7, pls 24, 27, 30), Heraion I–V (Kouka 2002, 294, pls 50, 52, 54), and Troy II–late through Troy IIg (Kouka 2002, 299, figs 56b–c; Ünlüsoy 2006, 139–42, figs 5, 6, 9). In case of Troy II an outer fortification wall has also been built in order to protect a lower settlement (Korfmann 1998; Jablonka 2001). Meanwhile, Liman Tepe V became a regional centre in the Izmir region with a new, well-planned fortification system with colossal apsidal bastions (29 × 20 m) (Erkanal 1999, 240–1, pl. liii; Erkanal 2008a, 181–3, figs 1, 7; Erkanal *et al.* 2009, 304, pl. 1, drawing 1, figs 4–5), which protected the promontory and the harbour of the settlement; the outer part of the settlement was also fortified with smaller apsidal bastions (Erkanal 1999, 241; Ersoy *et al.* 2001). Apsidal bastions of much smaller size also formed part of the fortifications of Palamari Phase II–III (5–9 × 5–9 m) (Theochari and Parlama 1997, 348–53, plan 1–2; Parlama 2007, 38–45, figs 1–3, 30), Lerna IIIC–D (*c.* 4 × 4 m) (Heath-Wiencke 2000a, 91–124, pls 5–7; 2000b, 646–7), and in the EH III fortifications of Kolonna on Aegina Phase V–VI (5.5–7 m wide) (Walter and Felten 1981, 28–33, 43–50).

2. Settlement Plans

Settlement planning of Aegean EB settlements included radio-centric, rectangular, linear and free or agglutinative systems (Konsola 1984, figs 5, 7, 10, 12; Kouka 2002, 66, 152–4; Alram-Stern 2004, 261–3). At Poliochni the same linear architectural plan based on the erection of insulae consisting of one or more households has been used in all four EB phases (Kouka 2002, 78–81, 98–9, pls 1, 3, 5, 7, 9). Contrary to this, the radiating architectural arrangement of Thermi I–IIIB (Kouka 2002, 154, 170–1, 182–3, 196–7, pls 12, 15, 18, 21) was replaced in Thermi IV with the rectangular one (Kouka 2002, 204–5, 212–13, pls 24, 27), and in Thermi V with the linear architectural scheme (Kouka 2002, 225–8, pl. 30). The radiating settlement plans of Troy I (Kouka 2002, 3, pl. 54a; Ünlüsoy 2006, 133–5, figs 1, 4) and Liman Tepe VI (Erkanal *et al.* 2003, 424–5, fig. 1; 2004, 165–8, figs 1–3; Erkanal 2008a, 180, figs 5–6) were replaced in the EB II with a building system of irregular insulae in form and size, as indicated in Troy IIg (Kouka 2002, pl. 54b–c; Ünlüsoy 2006, 136–42, figs 5, 6, 9) and Liman Tepe V (Erkanal 2008a, 180, 182, figs 3, 4; Kouka 2013a, 570–1, figs 2–3). On mainland Greece the existence of a radiating plan is indicated at Kolonna on Aegina, Phases V–VI of the EH II–III (Walter and Felten 1981, 28–46, pls 7–8). On the other hand, the EH II rectangular buildings in Lerna III were replaced with apsidal ones in the EH III phase Lerna IV (Rutter 1995, 4–10, pls iii–iv; Heath-Wiencke 2000a, pls 3–8; Heath-Wiencke 2000b, 641–53).

The extension of fortification walls and the replacement of architectural plans reflect both the growth of population and the extraordinary level of economic wealth that the settlements reached in the EB II–III phases as a result of increased cultural interaction and economic competition in the Aegean and Western Anatolia (Kouka 2002, 299–301; Kouka 2008, 316–19).

3. Communal Buildings

Communal buildings of specialised function have been identified in certain EB settlements. They usually have a distinctive architectural form and building construction, an exceptional position in the settlement plan, and were in use for more than one settlement phases. For the erection of such buildings, that may have been used for collective (political and/or symbolic-religious) or economic (storage) activities communal land was occupied, as in the case of the fortifications. Three such buildings incorporated in the fortification have been identified at Poliochni, namely the "Communal Hall", the earliest one found so far in the Aegean used for communal meetings and other functions, as well as the "Communal Store-Buildings" 28 and 31 (Kouka 2002, 48–9, 50). Another communal storage structure has also been excavated at Heraion I (Kouka 2002, 287) or even earlier (Kouka 2013a, 576; 2013b, fig. 1 online supplemental image). In EH II mainland Greece the "Circular Building" of the Unterburg of Tiryns has been identified as a communal storage structure (Kilian 1986, 68, figs 56–9). Finally, the "Sanctuary of the Bulls" of EH II Lithares settlement in Boeotia has been interpreted as a site for religious feasts (Tzavella-Evjen 1984, 21–2, pl. 5b, 82–4; 1985, 20, fig. 5).

4. Buildings of Political-Economic Significance

Communal buildings, as discussed above, occupied a special location in the settlement plan, demonstrate skilful construction, and a long architectural history and duration of use. Such buildings served as the seats of community heads, although a multi-functionality as communal storage and communal halls should not be excluded. Such examples include the Megaron 317 in Poliochni Blue–Yellow (Kouka 2002, 116, pls 4, 6, 8, 10), Building A1–A2 in Thermi I–IIIB (Kouka 2002, 167–8, 179, 194, 203, pls 14, 17, 20, 23), Building Θ in Thermi V (Kouka 2002, 237, pl. 32), the "Cyclopaean Building" in Heraion III (Kouka 2002, 290, pl. 51), Megaron IIA in Troy II (Kouka 2002, 299, abb. 56b–c) and the central building complex at Liman Tepe V (Erkanal 2008a, 182–3, figs 3, 8–9; Kouka 2013a, 571–2, fig. 3).

On mainland Greece, the EH II "Corridor Houses" hosted political, economic/administrative, as well as symbolic activities. Such examples include Building BG of Lerna IIIC middle–late (Heath-Wiencke 2000a, 185–97, pl. 6), the House of the Tiles of Lerna IIID (Heath-Wiencke 2000a, 213–43, pls 8, 32), the *Haus am Felsrand* in Kolonna II (Walter and Felten 1981, 12–13, pl. 4), the *Weisses Haus* in Kolonna III on Aegina (Walter and Felten 1981, 14–22, pl. 5), and the "Fortified Building" in Thebes (Aravantinos 1986, 58–62, figs 53–5). In the case of Lerna III the communal area occupied in the EH II by the Building BG and by its successor House of the Tiles was not overbuilt in the EH III period and was instead turned into a monumental tumulus with a diameter of 18.75 m, possibly founded symbolically on communal land to "commemorate the death of the House of the Tiles, of its occupants or of the community in which it stood" (Heath-Wiencke 2000a, 297, figs I.107b, I.108a, section 22, 25). It may be argued that this tumulus displays the embodiment of the EH II predecessors and their glorious economic past.

5. Extramural Cemeteries

Extramural cemeteries should be considered as communal lands for hosting the dead members of a community, for serving as arenas where the social identity of the dead was played out, for worshipping community's ancestors and for expressing beliefs for the life beyond. Among the most important extramural cemeteries used by EB communities is the EB I–II cemetery at Bakla Tepe (Erkanal and Özkan 1999, 113–5, 124–5), the EH II–III cemetery at Agios Kosmas (Mylonas 1959, 64–120, figs 2, 48), and the EH II cemetery at Manika (Sampson 1988, 21–71, figs 2, 28–30, 35).

Private ownership

The preservation of architectural plans and the use of standardised households, such as long-room houses (Thermi I–V, Troy I, Liman Tepe VI, Heraion I–V) or of insulae consisting of at least one long-room house flanked by smaller auxiliary rectangular ones (Poliochni, Emporio, Palamari), that were renovated through successive architectural levels, suggest the operation of well-established private land ownership within the settlement areas that was inherited successive generations during the 3rd millennium BC.

The qualitative and quantitative analysis of ceramics and small finds indicates an economy based upon agriculture and animal husbandry, handicraft and trade. The distribution of finds in the successive settlement phases indicates localised workshops for specialised activities, such as woodworking, tanning, basketry, textile production, or the production of artefacts of bone, stone, flintstone, obsidian and metal. Metallurgical workshops have been identified in the EB I–early EB II House 2 at Liman Tepe (Erkanal *et al.* 2003, 425; Kouka and Şahoğlu forthcoming), and in Insulae VIII (Megara 605) and XIII (Megaron 832) of Poliochni Blue, Red and Yellow (Kouka 2002, 63, 76, 93–4, 117, pls 4, 6, 8, 10). Furthermore, a "metalworker's quarter" has been located in Area E of Thermi I–IVA (Kouka 2002, 168–9, 180, 194, 210–1, pls 14, 17, 20, 23, 26), which was preserved at the same location, despite the total change of settlement plan from Thermi IIIB through Thermi IVA. The evidence from Poliochni, Thermi and Liman Tepe, indicate the inheritance not only of land, but also of profession (metalworking) and status (prestige goods) in the Aegean EBA (Kouka 2002, 117–8, 125, 127–8, 223–4).

Conclusions

Tracing land ownership in the nonliterate societies of the Aegean EBA requires an integrated spatial analysis on semi-micro and micro levels (Konsola 1984; Pullen 1985; Kouka 2002). The detection of land ownership on a communal and private level and modes of their embodiment through material culture, as presented above, illustrate further aspects of economic, social and political structures of Aegean EBA stratified societies. Overall, the embodiment of land ownership represents a cognitive, social and economic product of humans and of their interaction in space and time, and indicates ideologies, social complexity and modes of inheritance.

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18

From Potter's Mark to the Potter Who Marks

Kostis Christakis

Introduction

The application of marks on pottery during the manufacture and before the firing of a pot is a widespread practice in both the archaeological and ethnographic records of a range of different cultural milieus. Given that the mark was applied before the firing process, it is generally agreed that it is the potter who was responsible for marking the pot. Discussions so far have focused exclusively on the function and meaning of these marks. Most scholars relate them to potters and/or workshops (*e.g*. Bikaki 1984, 9, 22, 42; Papadopoulos 1994; Hirschfeld 1999, 33; Lindblom 2001, 132–3; Ditze 2007, 279–80; Glatz 2012). It has also been argued that marks designate pot volume and contents, the destination or ownership of the finished product, or that they are markers of a centralised strategy of control over pottery production (Bikaki 1984, 42; Wood 1990, 45–7; Papadopoulos 1994; Lindblom 2001, 132–3; Gallorini 2009). Other suggested functions, which are not widely accepted, connect pre-firing marks with ethnic groups, numerical systems, pottery quality and price (Caskey 1955, 43; Döhl 1978; Winn 1981, 238). Pots were also supposedly marked to avoid spreading contamination by diseased owners, to aid blind users, or even to serve a time-factoring purpose in order to anticipate seasonal changes (Marschack 1972, 27; Vitelli 1977, 26, 28).

The focus of scholarship on the function and meaning of the pre-firing marks often makes us forget an essential aspect: that behind the mark and the vessel are "hidden" people, people who made and used them, people who loved and were attached to them, and even people who forgot and discarded them. The correlation of pre-firing marks with the potters, who once made the vessels and applied the mark, is a relatively unexplored avenue of inquiry. It is on the potters who made and marked their pots, and not on the function and meaning of the mark, that I want to focus. An embodied approach allows us to shed light on this overlooked correlation, to go beyond functionality and bring forward not only the potters' marks but, more importantly, the potters who mark. Through embodiment, individual identities become visible.

One such set of pre-firing marks from the site of Syme, Viannos in Crete is discussed here from the perspective of those engaged in the practice of marking. I would argue that the marking of a vessel is a code for non-verbal communication and the transmission of individual identity. It is, in other words, an externalisation practice, sometimes unconscious and other times conscious. Through the vessel he/she marked, the potter could declare his/her presence, his/her actual self. The mark is what transforms a vessel (among the many the potter made) into something other than a simple utilitarian artefact: a medium that its maker has adopted in order to achieve strategic aims in the negotiation of his/her social coming into being.

Sample and analytical strategies

Founded on a plateau on the southern slopes of Mount Dikte, between Omalos and the village of Kato Syme in Viannos Province, at an altitude of 1,130 m, the sanctuary of Syme was one of the most important Cretan cult sites (Lebessi 2002, 3–7; Zarifis 2008; Fig. 18.1). The site, protected from the strong north easterlies, is open to the southwest with an unimpeded view of the Libyan Sea. Although set in a remote location, the site was located to the northwest next to one of the few mountain passes on the route from the Pediada region, and to the area of Ierapetra to the southeast. The sanctuary's long history extended from the very beginning of the 2nd millennium BC to the Early Christian period.

Ninety-eight sherds and fragmentary vessels bearing pre-firing marks have been found in the Bronze Age contexts of the site (Fig. 18.2). The most widespread types of marks are long/short straight incised lines, followed by marks of evenly spaced lines transversed at a right angle by a longer one, crossed incised lines at a right or an acute angle, double axe, V-shaped incised lines, impressed dots, lozenge and rectangle. Some marks occur only once: zigzag incised lines, T-shaped incised lines, double T-shaped incised lines, one horizontal and two vertical incised lines, rectangle with an X, Linear A sign, angular and oval impressions. Most marks are incised on wide-mouthed jars and cooking pots: 28 and 22 examples respectively have been recovered. There are 13 markings on pithoi and 11 on amphorae. Six to seven marks occur on basins, jugs and flaring bowls. Cups with marks are extremely rare: only a tumbler, a stemmed cup and one-handled cup are attested. Thus, the vessels marked are mostly those used for storage and cooking, whereas vessels used for serving and drinking were not often marked. These percentages depend in part on the available data, although, in my opinion, they do reflect actual patterns of process, since similar trends have been identified at other Cretan sites (*e.g.* Godart and Olivier 1978; Tsipopoulou 1995). As far as their date is concerned, the majority is assigned to the Middle Minoan IB (*c.* 1900–1800 BC) period, a few to Middle Minoan IIB (*c.* 1700 BC) and even fewer to Middle Minoan IIIB–Late Minoan IA (*c.* 1640/1600–1525/1500 BC). Compared to the large quantities of unmarked vessels found at the sanctuary, these 98 cases show that marking vessels was certainly not a widespread practice at Syme.

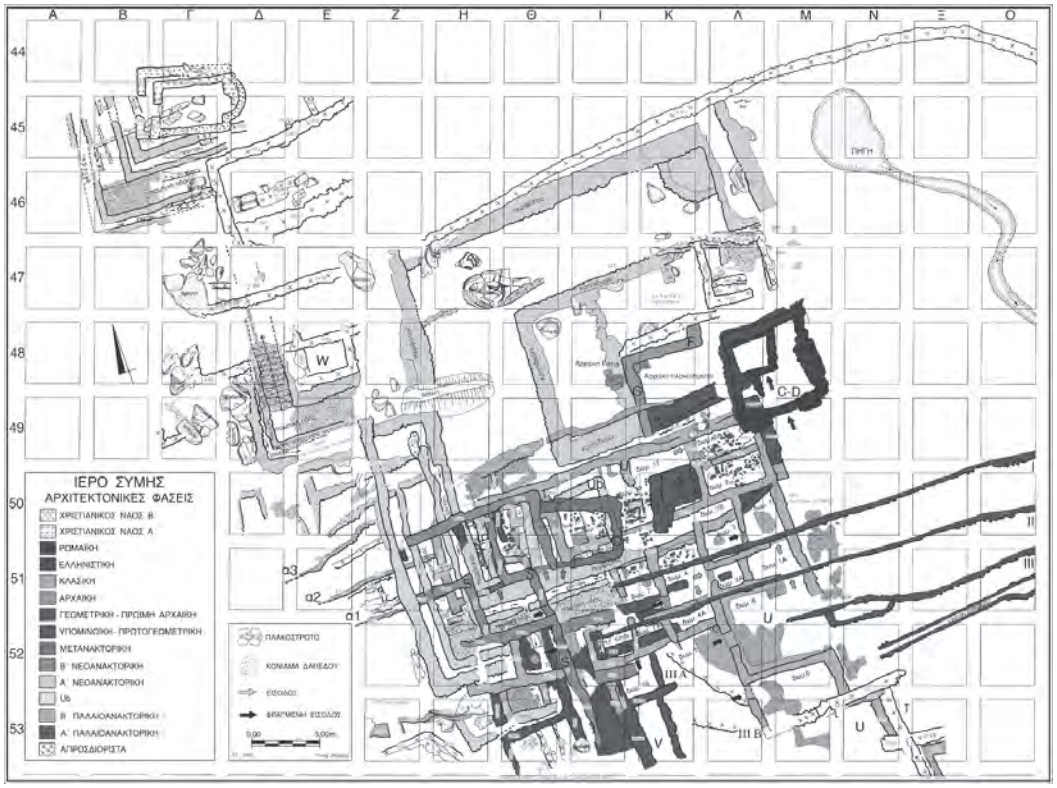

Figure 18.1: Plan of the sanctuary of Syme, Viannos (drawn by N. Zarifis).

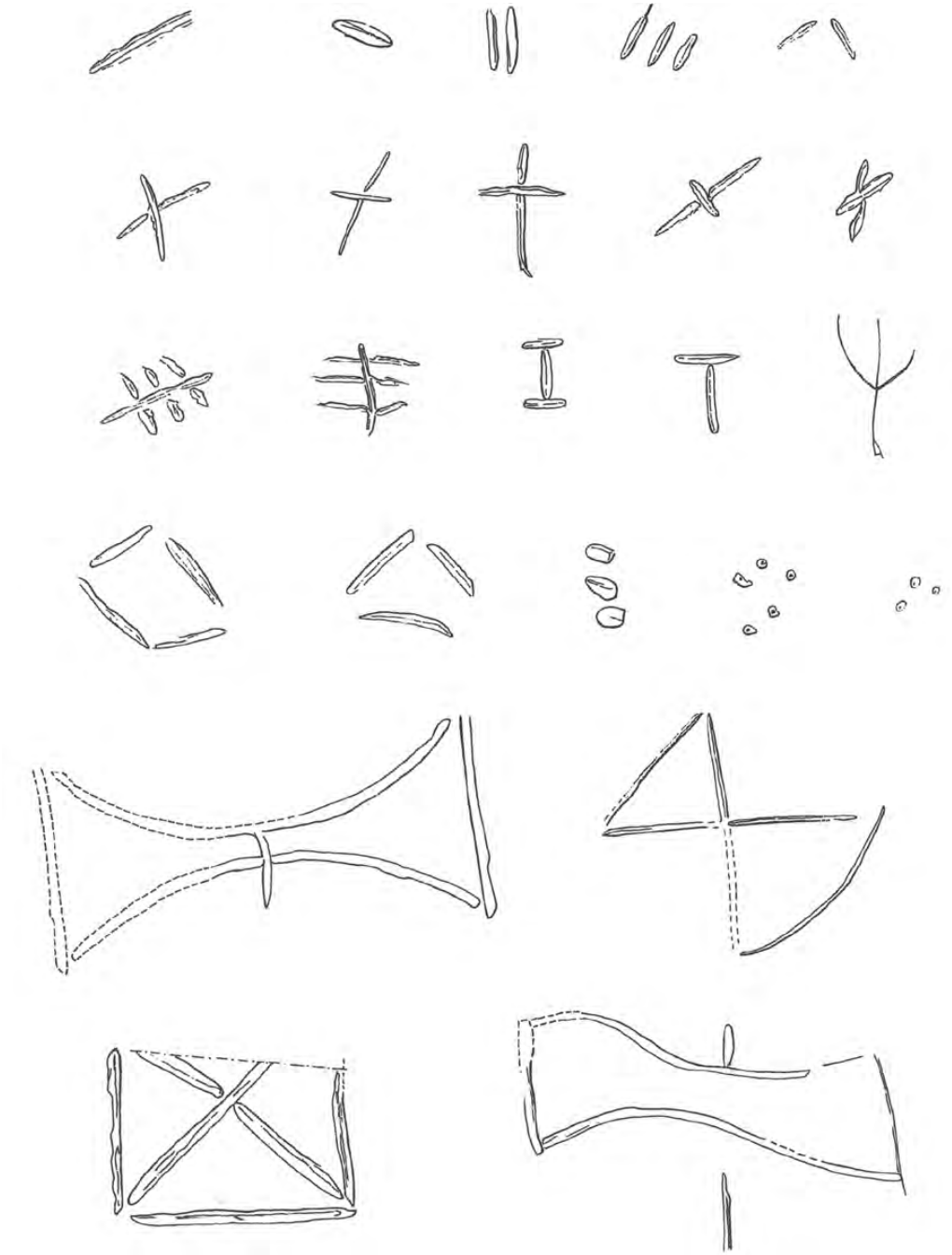

Figure 18.2: Pre-firing marks from Syme (scale 1:2) (drawn by N. Ntolia).

A pre-firing mark, typical of the marking repertoire of the Middle Minoan IB period at the site, is that of evenly spaced lines transversed by a longer one at a right angle. The mark is exclusively found at Syme and is a product of the local marking tradition. It is mostly incised on the handles of wide-mouthed jars; it also occurs on the handle of a cooking pot, a pithos, and a cup, as well as close to the rim of two bowls. The mark is attested in 18 instances grouped, on the basis of form, appearance and execution, in six types (Fig. 18.3). The present discussion is concerned with only one type of this mark, Type 1, known from nine examples (Type 1a-i; Fig. 18.4).

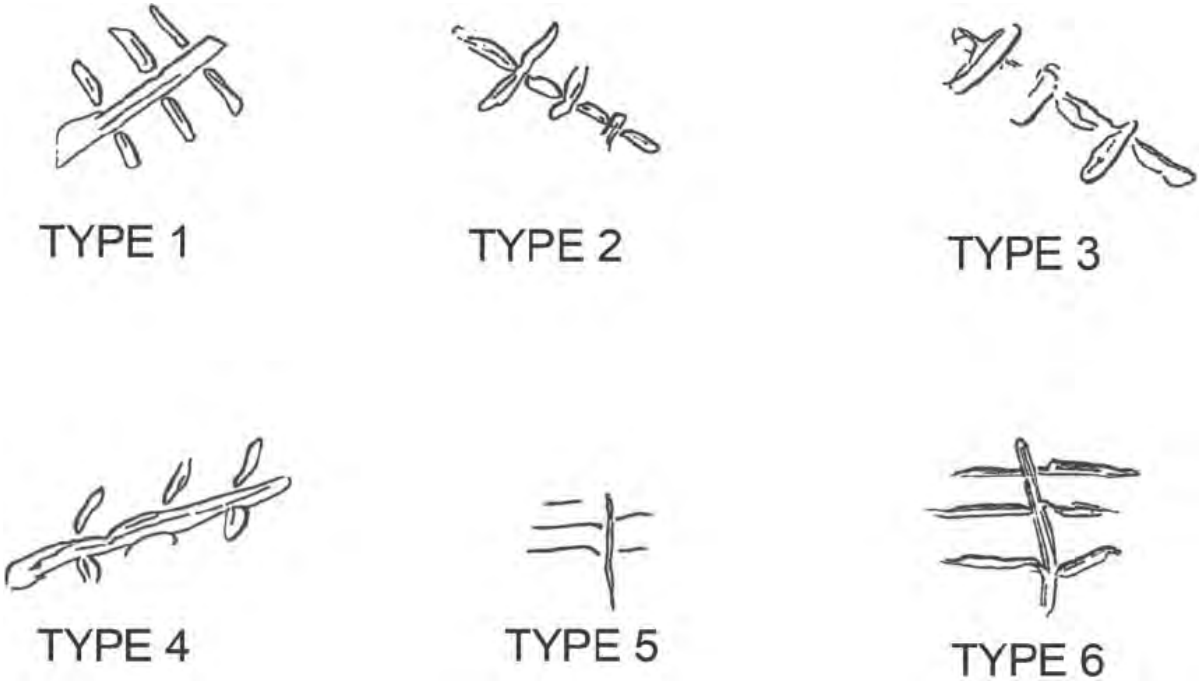

Figure 18.3: Types of the pre-firing mark of evenly spaced lines transversed by a longer one at a right-angle (scale 1:2) (drawn by N. Ntolia).

The question that now arises is what are the methodological tools which could make the mute remains of the past speak about their creators? There are two avenues of inquiry: the first is to evaluate the handwriting, much as graphology does, and the second is to study the morphological and technological attributes of the marked vessels. The importance of handwriting in identifying the individual is obvious; it is self-evident that every person's writing style includes certain characteristic movements unique to that person (Nezos 1986; Seifer 2009). In the case of the pre-firing marks at Syme, a graphological approach similar to that applied to texts is difficult, if not impossible to apply. When examining a text, the graphologist has a wide variety of data to aid in determining the writer's handwriting and personality, whereas in the case of a pre-firing mark, albeit a repeated one, there is only a single mark rather than several different ones made by the same potter. Having taken this pitfall into account, an important parameter could not be ignored: a text consists of sentences, sentences consist of words and words consist of signs. It is from the analysis of the single sign that the graphologist begins the study, moving on to more complex writing expressions. As Bennet remarks in his study of the tablets in Linear B script, to use an example from Bronze Age Greece, the first and most important criterion for the detection of scribes is provided by the forms of the signs (1958, 330). It is these isolated signs that are analysed here in an attempt to identify meaningful patterns of process between similar and repetitive pre-firing marks. And, to make the research question even more straightforward, I am seeking to understand if marks similar in appearance and execution were written by the same analytical individual or by different ones.

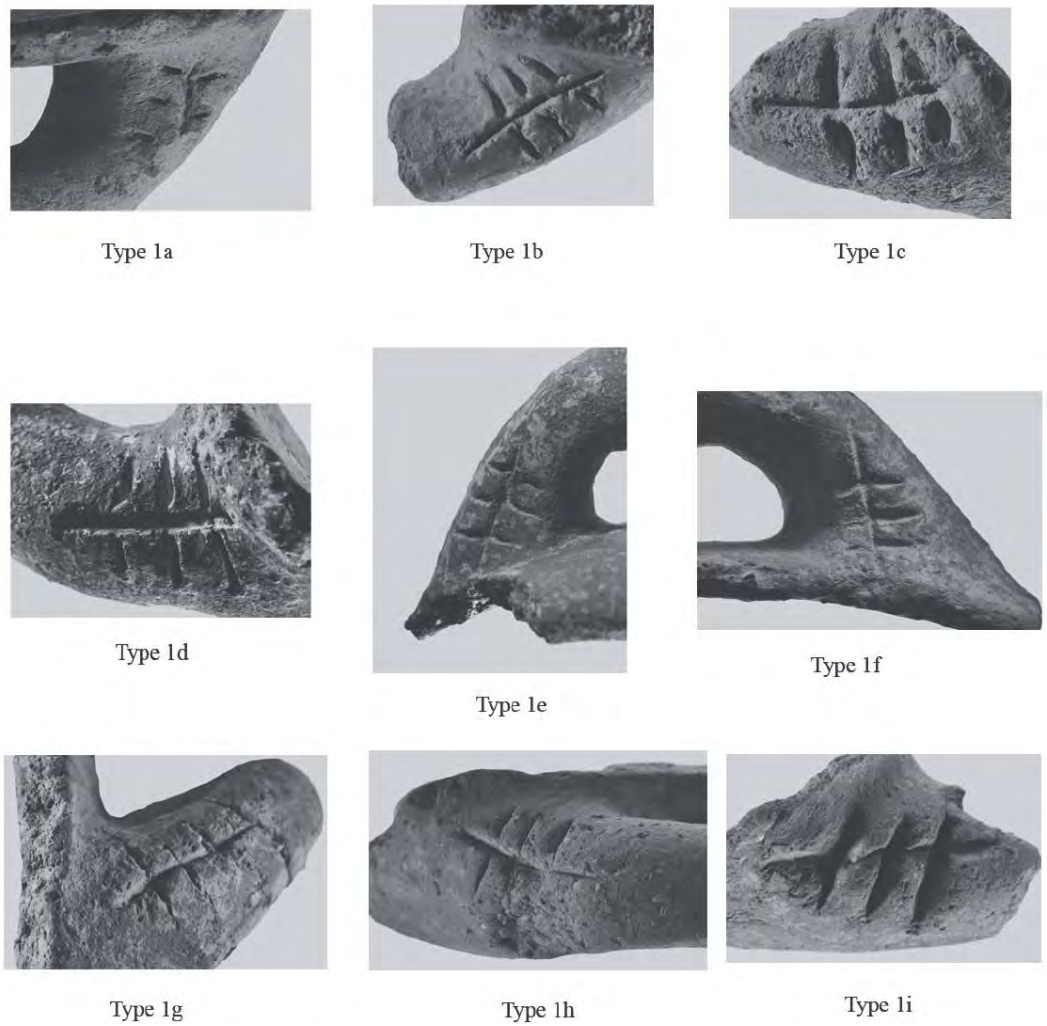

Figure 18.4: Versions of Type 1 of the pre-firing mark of evenly spaced lines transversed by a longer one at a right angle (Types 1a-i) (photo by Y. Papadakis-Ploumidis).

The study of handwriting in itself is not enough to identify an analytical individual, since there is another, equally important parameter: the vessel on which the mark has been incised or impressed. It is generally acknowledged that production of any vessel is a complex process which requires the potter to make specific choices, throughout all stages of the *chaîne opératoire* (van der Leeuw and Pritchard 1990, 240; Sillar and Tite 2000). These choices are influenced by the potter's environment, the level of technological knowledge and, of course, the wider economic, social, political and ideological setting. On every vessel, however, are imprinted not only the potter's choices, but also his or her motor-performance habits, *i.e*. the mechanical habits of the potter's individual movement during the making of a pot.

The differences observed in both the writing of the mark and the making of the pot are clearly due to the *modus operandi* of the potter's body (Ingold 2000, 289–93). It is these differences that help us to approach each potter separately; that help us give a materialised, historically-specific substance and identity to the anonymous – anonymous to us – potters. Some of the potter's choices are undoubtedly dictated by the sociocultural framework in which he/she lived – after all each potter is required to satisfy the needs, real or imaginary, of the clientele – but other choices reflect his/her own individuality. The fact that we cannot find the potter's genetic code or refer to him or her by name, does not render him or her either abstract or general. The disembodied potter can be given substance through the analysis of the material testimonies of his/her actions, through his/her engagement with matter, through the pots themselves that he/she made and marked.

The paleography of the marks

Type 1 mark, denoted by evenly spaced lines transversed by a longer one at a right-angle, is attested in nine instances (Type 1a-i). Though different in style and execution, all these different versions of the same type share a

similar basic form and appearance, completely different to those of other types (Fig. 18.4). The dimensions in all instances are almost "identical": the vertical line is 2.2–3 cm long, while the three parallel lines, which are all of uniform length, are 1.2–1.4 cm long, with a length of 1.4 cm occurring in five out of the eight instances. In the first version, Type 1a, the potter has rendered the mark by cutting the long incision first, followed by the evenly spaced short ones. However, the short incisions are not unbroken, as in most versions of Type 1; instead, we have two groups of three short incisions cut under a long one, giving the impression of three single parallel lines transversed by a fourth one. Some of the short incisions are touching the long one, while others are farther away from it. The mark was cut using a sharp tool applied with pressure to the soft clay surface: the incisions are deep, the short ones being deeper. The long incision is not completely straight and must have been cut slowly with an unsteady hand, betraying the potter's difficulty or inexperience in incising straight lines on the clay. The short lines have been cut using jerky, impulsive strokes, as can be seen from their depth and lack of correspondence between the incisions. Generally speaking, the mark has been made carelessly and hastily, but as there are no other similar marks incised by the same potter, it is not certain if this is due to the potter's personal writing style or to some variation within it.

In the second version, Type 1b, the long incision has also been cut before the short ones; in this case, however, the short incisions are longer than those of the previous mark. The potter cut the lines into the soft clay with quick, hard strokes of a sharp tool: the long one has been formed in a single stroke running from the attachment of the handle to its end. The incisions are wide, deep and all of uniform depth, creating a "plastic" effect. As opposed to the previous mark, here the long incision has a straight outline and the short ones are parallel to each other. The writing is firm, steady, fast, unvarying and strong.

In the third version, Type 1c, the evenly spaced short incisions have been cut before the long one, a significant difference from the two previous cases. The potter cut the three short incisions first, probably beginning with the one farthest from the attachment of the handle, and then drew the long one with a steady hand in a single stroke from the attachment of the handle to its end. The short incisions are cut slightly deeper than the long one, whose depth is uniform throughout its length. Their outline has been deformed at certain points due to the softness of the clay and the fact that the tool was blunt. The writing is firm, steady, fast and strong, indicating experience. The end result, however, is rather careless, perhaps indicating that the potter was in a hurry.

In the fourth version, Type 1d, the evenly spaced short incisions were also carved before the long one. The short incisions are of varying lengths. Another singular feature of this mark is that it was incised using two tools: a thin tool with a slightly squared-off end, and a thicker one for the longer line. The tool was pressed hard into the surface of the clay producing deep incisions, with more pressure applied at the beginning of each stroke. The short incisions have been cut first, starting from the part of the handle farthest from the attachment and applying the tool on the outer side of each, followed by the long incision, starting at the attachment. They have well-defined outlines, although the short incisions are slightly misshapen where the long one was cut over them. The writing is firm, steady, fast and strong, a clear indication of the potter's experience. The short incisions of varying length probably indicate the potter's need to differentiate his/her mark from the basic type with short lines of equal length. No other marks by the same potter, though, have been found, so it is not certain if this was a chance occurrence or a permanent feature of his/her writing.

The fifth version, Type 1e, presents the same order of incision as the previous one. The tool, with thin, angular edges, has been applied with light pressure to the soft surface of the clay. The long incisions have been made, as in the other cases, in a single stroke running from the attachment of the handle. The incisions are wide, not very deep, and all of uniform depth and their outline is well defined. The writing is firm and steady, and care is taken to keep the characteristics of the mark clear, particularly when making the long stroke. The potter is experienced and careful.

The sixth version, Type 1f, is quite similar to the previous one: the sequence and manner of carving the lines forming the mark is the same, as are the dimensions of the marks themselves. However, there are two basic differences. First, the arrangement of the short incisions in relation to the long one is not identical. Second, haste is apparent in the way the tool cut the surface of the clay, resulting in the short incisions being barely visible. These problems arose because the potter incised the mark very close to the attachment of the handle, so that he/she had only a small area to work on. Was he/she a different potter from the one who carved the previous example, using the same tool but lacking the experience of the first, or might both marks have been made by the same potter, with the

differences occurring due to variation in his/her writing style? The available data are not sufficient to answer this question.

In two versions of Type 1, namely Type 1g and Type 1h, the evenly spaced incisions were marked before the long one. The tool used in both cases had very sharp edges but the end result varies, as the mechanical movement of each potter was different. In the case of Type 1g, the incisions are very thin and made with short, quick strokes. Little pressure was used for the short incisions, but the long line was pressed in deep. The long incision is not straight and the potter's hand seems not to have been completely steady when making it. The writing is fast and firm, although the end result is careless. In the case of Type 1h, on the contrary, a similar tool was applied to the soft surface in such a way that the end result is "plastic". The writing is firm, steady, fast and strong, all indications of experience. The potter carved the mark particularly carefully.

In the final version, Type 1i, known from two instances, the potter applied the long incision first and the three short ones over it. The incisions were made using a tool with relatively wide edges. The long incision was made in a single stroke running from the main body of the handle towards its attachment. The short lines were made with the long edge of the tool, so that they are wide and deep. The pressure was so great that the outline of the long incision is deformed. The writing is firm, steady, fast and strong, although the end result is not particularly "careful", perhaps indicating that the potter was in a hurry. Both marks were cut on vessels of the same type, produced using the same potting technology. It is not absolutely certain whether the vessels were marked by two potters, or whether just one potter was involved and the minor differences in handwriting are due to variation in his/her personal style.

Marked pots and potters

In the cases mentioned above, the potters have the same conceptual type mark, but apply it to the soft clay differently, in a manner determined by their own idiosyncrasies and motor-performance habits. All type marks, however, share the same micro-context; they have been incised on the upper part of horizontal handles of wide-mouthed jars, near the attachment. The fragmentary data show that the marked vessels have similar basic morphological features and were produced following the same potting technology. The wide-mouthed jars used during Middle Minoan IB at the sanctuary were coil-built with or without rotational aid. The exterior, and in many instances even the interior, is wet-wiped to create a smooth surface. Most specimens are unslipped and unpainted. The construction of such vessels required moderate to low investment of labour, as construction and surface treatment are not highly time-consuming, although the time and energy required depend on the experience of the potters. The fact that vessels occur in a variety of fabrics and exhibit diverse surface treatments indicates that they were produced in several different workshops. The paste technology is the same in all marked examples examined here. Standardisation in the manufacturing process within workshop output is high, with low to moderate labor investment and skill.

These patterns of correlations observed in the marks suggest the presence of a potting group, the potters of which followed the same potting tradition for the production of a certain type of vessel, and marked their output with the same sign, a sign identical in structure of its visual language, but made in each person's own, unique way. The way, of course, in which each potter formed the soft clay differed from vessel to vessel, at least as far as we can tell from the admittedly few cases where substantial fragments of the original vessel are preserved. The pressure, for instance, applied by the potter's hands when forming the walls of the jars and attaching their horizontal handles varies from case to case. The direction of the potter's hand when smoothing the internal surface of the vessel also differs: in most cases it is clockwise, while in one case it is anti-clockwise.

Potting technology aside, the potters used the same type of mark on part of their output, for they would not have produced only the marked vessels. Similar vessels, without pre-firing marks, are common at the sanctuary during Middle Minoan IB. Many of those would have been made by the potters in question, who for some reason decided to mark only a few of them, and also by other potters who followed the same potting tradition but did not leave their "signature" on the vessel. The use of readily available, local fabrics for the production of these vessels, the large number of unmarked examples, and the occurrence of this mark exclusively at Syme and not at other sites, indicate that these potting groups would have been active somewhere in the wider area of the site. Direct evidence "on the ground" for pottery workshops does not exist in the case of Syme. Such production units are very unlikely to

have existed in the area of the sanctuary itself, since the cultic use of the site, together with the terrain and extreme climatic conditions prevalent for most of the year, would have been unfavourable to potting activities. The installation of the potting groups responsible for producing a significant number of vessels used must be sought in the wider geographical setting of Syme. The Viannos area boasts an ideal ceramic environment for the development of pottery production, providing an abundance of all the necessary raw materials. It is no coincidence that Viannos was used as a base by itinerant potters' groups in the historically recorded past (Psaropoulou 1996).

The fact, however, that different potters, making similar pots following the same potting technology, also used the same mark, is surely significant. It has been argued that the potter may have marked the pot in order to separate his/her own product from those of another potter sharing the same potting area, or to note a particular stage in the manufacturing process (*e.g.* Döhl 1978; Papadopoulos 1994; Lindblom 2001; Ditze 2007; Glatz 2012). The potter may have also marked the final vessel manufactured each day with a different sign, to keep the batches separate, particularly when placing them in the kiln for firing. Another hypothesis is that the first vessel of each batch was marked with a sort of "workshop code" to indicate the type of special potting process to be applied to the whole group (Ditze 2007).

In the case of pre-firing marks from Syme, the marks must refer not to a specific potter but to a wider entity, perhaps a potting group or a production unit. If a potter had wanted to differentiate his/her output from that of another artisan, he/she would obviously have adopted a different mark. Yet despite their similarity, the marks present differences in the way in which they have been incised due, to a certain extent, to the handwriting of each potter. The potters could have adopted a specific incision method, leading to the greatest possible standardisation of the mark. They could, in other words, have controlled their writing motions in order to ensure the uniform execution of the mark symbolising the potting group to which they belonged. But this did not happen. On the contrary, each potter placed the same mark on the soft clay in his/her own particular, personal style.

The emphasis on personal writing expression is interpreted here as the result not only of writing idiosyncrasies, but of the potter's need to express his/her individuality as clearly as possible on a group of vessels with uniform morphological and technological characteristics. The uniformity of these features on the pots of a given group helps the careful observer to identify the personal writing style of each potter more easily, where two or more vessels were used simultaneously. It seems, therefore, that the mark indicates a potting group on the one hand, and the potters active within that group on the other. In this setting, the potter marked one of the many pots he/she made with a specific symbol, but in such a way as to set it apart from the same symbol incised by his/her colleague. These pre-firing marks are thus makers' marks or, better, potters' marks. Their function was to identify the pieces (either an individual vessel or a batch of vessels) made by independent potters during a communal or cooperative stage of production. It is likely that what the mark signified referred to the total production of a specific moment in time. A related practice, that of an inscription referring to a wider group of pots rather than solely to the one on which it is incised, has been attested in several instances of inscriptions in Linear A script (*e.g.* Christakis 2010).

This statement of individuality, however, presupposes the existence of the appropriate social context; in other words, it presupposes observers who will note the mark on the body of the pot – in most of the cases examined here it is very easily seen – "read" it, and finally identify it with a single person, a single potter. This is because, apart from the hidden meanings and symbolisms of the marks or even the pots themselves, a basic characteristic is that in all stages of their lifecycles they are involved in successive processes of "display". When the potters made and marked the pot, when the pot was placed somewhere in the workshop, either on its own or as part of a group of similar pots, when they sent them to the sanctuary, when someone dedicated them or used them in ritual activities, when they were used to meet functional requirements, and when, finally, they were disposed of, the marked pots participated in an ongoing dialogue between the potter and his/her creation, between the potter and the user of the pot, between the user and the pot, and ultimately between the specific pot and those that came before or after it. Potter and pot are constant points of reference in the development of this dialogue. This applies in those cases where the pot was an integral part of the everyday life of the potter or the community to which he/she belonged to. The pot itself forms part of that community, and is therefore indicative of identities.

If the marked pot was placed in the pottery workshop and the function of the mark was connected exclusively to the ceramic production process, it is reasonable to suppose that the mark could very easily have been identified with its creator, since the people active in the workshop would easily be able to recognise and identify the marks.

But what happened when the marked pots were used in a different context from that of the potter? Did the person who used a marked pot (for instance a vessel bearing the mark of three evenly spaced lines traversed by a longer third) know that this version of the mark had been made by such-and-such potter, who was a member of such-and-such community? And to take the question farther, could that user have connected the marked pot with its unmarked counterparts produced by the same potter? These questions cannot be answered. The users of the pots, outside the potter's environment, may have acknowledged that different people had created these similar vessels, and that different people had worked towards similar ends. Homogeneity is not the result of one individual but of a common practice between different people. Different people united in one production process/tradition; the plurality behind what in research is acknowledged as homogeneity. The connection of a specific version of the mark to a specific potter would have been possible only if the user had had some sort of relationship with the community in which the potter was active, and if user and potter were contemporaries. Obviously, it could be argued that this contemporaneity of makers and users is highly unlikely. Each of the marked pots followed its own course through time, which has not always left a trace on the archaeological material. It is difficult, for example, to say whether the ten jars with the mark of three short lines transversed at a right-angle by a longer one had a common timeline, whether they were all used from the beginning to the end of Middle Minoan IB, or whether some of them replaced others.

Conclusion

The manufacture of a vessel is the outcome of a series of complex processes ultimately identified with the potter him/herself; a potter who is seen here not as a link in a chain of economic processes, but as an individual seeking to project his/her knowledge, skills and experience onto one of the most permanent forms of expression: a pot. The differences in both, the making of the pot and the writing of the mark, help us approach each potter separately; they give a materialised, historically specific substance and identity to the anonymous potters – anonymous to us but well known to their community. Making and marking of a pot is thus a code for non-verbal communication and the transmission of individual identity. The mark is what transforms a vessel, among the many the potter made, into something other than a simple utilitarian artefact: a medium that its maker has adopted in order to achieve strategic aims in the negotiation of his/her social coming into being. Thus, I believe that the marking of a pot, acting together with, rather than separately from, the pot of which it is an organic part, expresses the potter's need to consider, to reinforce and to promote in more permanent forms valuable pieces of his/her experience.

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Part V

The Lived Body and Identities

19

Grasping Identity: Theoretically informed Human Bioarchaeology in or for the Eastern Mediterranean?

Kirsi O. Lorentz

Archaeologists have attempted to study identity through several different avenues and varied archaeological remains (see *e.g.* Insoll 2007), including employing data derived from analyses of human remains. More recently, some bioarchaeologists have begun to attempt social interpretations of the physical anthropological and palaeopathological data they produce (Agarwal and Glencross 2011; Gowland and Knüsel 2006), focusing on identity issues. Grasping for identity through archaeological human remains is a challenging endeavour as, for example, papers in the edited volume by Gowland and Knüsel illustrate (2006, see specifically Le Huray *et al.* 2006; Montgomery and Evans 2006). Only some differential practices relating to cultural identity leave traces on the human skeleton and/or dentition. Further, the interpretation of differences observable on human remains needs to take into account other potential causes in addition to such practices. While identity in archaeology continues to form a focus of theoretical debates and discussions, such theoretical discussions often take place in separate fora from physical anthropological ones, further complicating the task of a researcher interested in grappling with issues of identity through human remains. This paper attempts to take stock of research relevant to discussions of identity within the domain of human bioarchaeology, as conducted in the Eastern Mediterranean. The range of case studies discussed includes both those that explicitly refer to archaeological theorising, as well as those that do not. Nevertheless all studies referred to focus on aspects of differentiation in the skeletal record that, potentially, lend themselves to discussions of identity and differentiation. Advances, problems and potential in investigating embodied identities in the Eastern Mediterranean are thus focused upon through a close look at specific case studies. In doing so, the paper also indicates to what extent (a) bioarchaeology conducted in the Eastern Mediterranean is/has been theoretically informed; and (b) to what extent there is potential for theoretically informed human bioarchaeology.

Joyce's (2005) outline of the developments through which archaeologies of the body have matured is relevant here in that it gives a conceptual reference point to the variety of studies being undertaken in the Eastern Mediterranean. According to Joyce, archaeology of the body has laboured through shifts in perception in the recent decades, iterating a path through viewing the body as a scene of display, or as an artefact, to more recent approaches focusing on the body as a site of lived experience (a social body, a site of embodied agency) (Joyce 2005, 139). Joyce recognises the key position of human remains studies in opening up avenues for exploring embodied experience (Joyce 2005, 148–9). Bioarchaeological data can contribute to the analyses of production and experience

of ancient lived bodies, providing data on bodily practices, habitual gestures and postures (see *e.g.* Molleson 2007), as well as consumption practices. Further, specific types of intentional modifications of bodies leave observable signs on the skeleton or dentition, providing us with an avenue to making inferences on both the process and the visual impact of such practices of cultural marking and differentiation. Thus, identities can be investigated bioarchaeologically through the embodied traces left by differential consumption, bodily movement and modification practices. While conducting such investigations, it is worth bearing in mind that when we view an individual skeleton, or group of skeletons, we view the traces of processes interrupted at a specific moment in time (death) – the lived bodies we attempt to focus on are not static but ever changing (Lorentz 2008, 277–8). Recent studies demonstrate poignantly the location of the human body between biology and culture (Schutkowski 2008a; 2008b) through their focus on the relationships between the physical body and socio-cultural practices, aspects of which can be identified in the skeletal record.

There are different aspects to each individual's identity, including ethnicity, gender and age, sexuality, class (status), caste, ideology and religion, to follow loosely Insoll's schema in his edited volume on *The Archaeology of Identities* (2007). Bioarchaeologists have begun investigating different aspects of identity in a variety of archaeological contexts (see *e.g.* Sofaer 2011 on age). To what extent have such studies been conducted in the area of the Eastern Mediterranean, or – to be more modest – to what extent are there studies in the Eastern Mediterranean interpreting their bioarchaeological results by making reference to aspects of identity? In the following, case studies attempting to address any such aspect of identity through bioarchaeological analyses, or studies attempting to interpret differentiation seen in the bioarchaeological record in terms of such aspects of identity in the Eastern Mediterranean are focused upon. It should be noted that due to limitations of space, it has not been possible to include all studies with resonance with the topic. For the purposes of this paper, the Eastern Mediterranean is understood to encompass the areas surrounding the Mediterranean basin from the Aegean to the Levant and to Egypt, as well as the island of Cyprus. The sections discussing specific studies are followed by a general discussion on the state of bioarchaeological research focusing on investigating aspects of identity, or with potential to contribute towards this effort, outlining advances, problems as well as future potential. This paper does not include a general discussion of the archaeology of identities in the region, due to the vastness of the subject, as well as it being covered elsewhere, but focuses on bioarchaeological studies only, highlighting approaches focusing on food consumption, bodily movement and body modification.

Bioarchaeology and identity in the Eastern Mediterranean

The following subsections discuss case studies from the Aegean, Anatolia, Cyprus, the Levant, and Egypt with relevance to bioarchaeology of identity.

Aegean

Studies of food consumption have proliferated in the Aegean (Vika 2011, 1157; Papathanasiou and Richards 2014), employing stable isotope analyses (carbon and nitrogen) in order to make inferences about the sources of average dietary protein (over long term, *c.* 10 years). Measurements of values in bone collagen can distinguish between marine and terrestrial protein, C3 *vs* C4 photosynthetic pathway plants and the animals that consume them, and the trophic level of dietary protein. Studies cover a wide temporal range, including the Neolithic (Papathanasiou 2003), Bronze Age (Richards and Vika 2008; Triantaphyllou *et al.* 2008; Petroutsa and Manolis 2010), Classical period (Vika *et al.* 2009), and Byzantine era (Bourbou and Richards 2007; Bourbou *et al.* 2011; 2013), and interpretations refer to aspects of identity such as gender, status, and ethnicity. For example, Vika attempts to "observe whether sociocultural parameters affect dietary choices and how this presents isotopically" (Vika 2011, 1157). Bourbou *et al.* (2013) discuss differences between populations as to breastfeeding and weaning times. Attempts to interpret increasing marine foods consumption by tying it into culturally specific and religiously regulated fasting practices have also been made (Bourbou *et al.* 2011).

While such studies on food consumption often specifically set out to explore differences in diet tied to identity in its different manifestations, or at least make reference to identity while attempting to interpret their results, studies

referring to evidence on bodily movement (musculoskeletal activity markers) have been less explicit as to identity. For Aegean populations, there are studies addressing the issue of musculoskeletal activity markers (Papathanasiou 2005), but these studies do not exclusively focus on these markers, nor do they extensively address aspects of identity and differentiation. Evidence relating to body modification is currently somewhat scarce (Lorentz 2009), prohibitive of more extensive discussions relating to identity. What evidence there is for intentional cranial modification can be interpreted in the framework of identity differentiation in terms of gender, status, ethnicity and/or other socio-cultural groupings.

Anatolia

In the area of Anatolia, we see gradual proliferation of bioarchaeological studies of food consumption (for diet, see *e.g*. Läsch *et al.* 2006), but also studies of intentional cultural body modifications. Pearson *et al.* (2013) set out to address aspects of social complexity through stable isotope investigation of diet at Cayönü Tepesi in southeastern Anatolia, concluding that "when the inhabitants of Çayönü Tepesi changed their architecture and operated different burial practices in conjunction, this coincided with other aspects of behaviour including socially-constituted food consumption practices, which served to reinforce social identities" (Pearson *et al.* 2013, 180). Thus these authors move beyond the search for differentiation, and begin to engage with the theoretical ideas relating to the active construction of bodies in cultural context and the performance of differential identities. As to bodily modification, Ozbek (2001) studied intentional cultural cranial modification at the Chalcolithic site of Degirmentepe (Turkey), and concludes that "[a]s far as Anatolia and the Near Eastern region is concerned, the widespread use of circular head deformation may be an indication of longer-distance trade and more need for ethnic markers" (Ozbek 2001, 238).

Cyprus

Cypriot human remains are often relatively poorly preserved, due to a combination of factors deriving from soil chemistry, taphonomy and ancient burial practices. Studies of consumption patterns (through stable isotope analyses) have been largely hampered by soil chemistry and bone diagenesis. Lack of sufficient amounts of well preserved joint surfaces hamper studies of habitual movement patterns and repetitive postures. Cyprus, however, presents a fertile ground for studies of bodily modification, and intentional cultural cranial modification in particular. Cultural cranial modification (headshaping) has been studied almost since the inception of physical anthropological activity on the island. The earliest approaches are best viewed in the context of Joyce's category of studies focusing on the body as a site of display (2005, 139, 151), with characteristically no explicit theoretical discussion, and reductive views on gender, typical of the time period and cultural contexts within which these academic studies took place. More recent approaches have begun to address the processes leading to modification, more akin to Joyce's "social body" approaches (2005, 139, 151), and explore the role of cranial modification practices in the construction of identities (see *e.g*. Lorentz 2007, with references).

Levant

In 2002 Boyd noted that the human body was regarded in two ways within the prehistoric archaeology of the Levant: as an objectified entity in physical/biological anthropological studies, or within the realm of mortuary archaeology either as an indicator of the organisational principles of society or as a component of a symbolic system (Boyd 2002, 137). Boyd advocates drawing from a number of disparate categories of archaeological evidence – something that the current advocates of integrated approaches would find resonance with. To what extent have physical/biological anthropologists, osteologists and palaeopathologists engaged with theoretically informed human bioarchaeology in the Levant, in specific to investigate issues relevant to identities?

Stable isotope studies of diet in the Levantine region are on the rise, though scarce or entirely lacking still for several time periods and/or cultural contexts (see *e.g*. Diaz *et al.* 2012). Recent studies are beginning to address more specifically identity related issues, such as the study of diet in Byzantine monastic communities in Jerusalem (Gregoricka and Sheridan 2013). Differentiation in the expression of pathological conditions thought to relate to diet

within specific populations have been interpreted, for example, as relating to differences in social status (see *e.g.* Flohr and Witzel 2011). Eshed *et al.* (2004) studied musculoskeletal stress markers (MSM) finding differentiation between Natufian hunter-gatherers and Neolithic farmers in the Levant, as well as differences in the MSM pattern for males and females, which they interpreted as indicating a gender-based division of labour both in the Natufian and the Neolithic (Eshed *et al.* 2004, 303). Peterson (1997) attempted to track differential activity patterns in the area of Jordan and Palestine. Molleson studied the traces left by habitual, repetitive movement and postures at Abu Hureyra in Syria (1994; 2006). She interpreted these traces as results of differential movement patterns by men and women, and further identified dental traces interpreted as evidence of basket makers/making. Molleson is one of the earliest, if not the earliest researcher of the region explicitly delineating research orientations focusing on exploring aspects of identity through human skeletal analyses (1996). Intentional cranial modification in the Levant has been studied by various authors, presenting a range of interpretations including gender, ethnicity and status (Arensburg and Hershkovitz 1988). As an example, Ozbek (1974) focuses on modification of the cranial form at Byblos, interpreting this as elaboration of gender identities – according to him, only females received the kind of treatment in infancy that resulted in this kind of modification (this may be debated).

Egypt

Bioarchaeologists studying human remains from ancient Egypt have also produced interpretations referring to identity differentiation to explain differences in diet, or dental disease and wear observable in the skeletal record. David *et al.* (2010) focus on the differences in diet between elite and common Egyptians, and the links between a particular pathological condition (atherosclerosis) among the ancient Egyptian elite, and diet. Buzon and Bombak (2009, 371) interpret the significant differences in antemortem tooth loss and severity of tooth wear between Egyptian and Nubian mortuary groups from the Nile valley, dated to the period of the New Kingdom, as relating to the socio-political and cultural changes taking place in Nubia during the Egyptian colonial occupation. Gamza and Irish (2012) interpret the variation in dental indicators of diet (carious lesions, macrowear, microwear and linear enamel hypoplasia) within a sample of "working class Predynastic Egyptians" (Gamza and Irish 2012, 398) as evidence for consumption of differing portions of certain food categories by adult males and females on the one hand, and by adults and juveniles on the other. While not explicitly addressing aspects of identity, Wheeler's study (2012) on the differences between levels of nutritional and disease stress in juveniles from a Romano-Byzantine context in Egypt (the Dakhleh Oasis) and those from pre-Roman times, would lend itself to studies of embodiment. Wheeler attempts to study "how infants and children were affected by Roman policies during the early years of the Christianisation of Egypt" (Wheeler 2012, 219).

As to studies of bodily movement (bodily practices, habitual gestures and postures) in the contexts of investigating identity, Judd's study of pubic symphyseal face eburnation within an Egyptian Middle Kingdom Second Intermediate Period population (Hierakonpolis) interprets the disproportionate degeneration of pubic symphyseal faces in some adults, when compared to other age diagnostic regions, as evidence for athlete identity for these individuals (2010, 280). Such athletes would have been conscripted by Egyptian pharaohs and elites for staged contests and entertainment (Judd 2010, 280). Further aspects of bodily practices lending themselves for study of socio-cultural differentiation and the processes through which such differentiation becomes embodied include aspects of interpersonal violence, and accident related trauma. Judd focuses on these, delineating differences between urban and rural populations during the Kerma period (2500–1750 BC) in Nubia (2006). Strontium isotope ratios have been used in attempts to identify locals versus immigrants on a New Kingdom period Nubian site (Buzon *et al.* 2007; Buzon and Simonetti 2013). Serious bioarchaeological studies relying on solid physical anthropological evidence for intentional cranial modification in Egypt are hard to come by, though an occasional medical professional writes of depictions, taking these as evidence for example of Akhenaten's purportedly modified cranial shape (see *e.g.* Ayer *et al.* 2010). Such studies often ignore the long running debates and literature on conventions of depiction and source critique.[1]

Despite the above studies, human remains, and their potential for contributing to the study of identity, through its embodied aspects, are hardly referred to within the mainstream archaeological and art historical studies of identity and burial practices in Egypt in different time periods (see *e.g.* Riggs 2005). This illustrates the effects of

rigid disciplinary boundaries, as discussed above. Buzon's study (2006) on biological and ethnic identity in New Kingdom Nubia begins to break down the boundaries maintained by rigid adherence to disciplinary categories. The study explicitly focuses on identity, and explicitly discusses theoretical issues, as well as integrating bioarchaeological analyses to consideration of other types of evidence. Buzon interprets her results as evidence for an ethnic identity at New Kingdom Tombos as "neither bounded by physical attributes nor necessarily predictable" (2006, 693).

Advances, problems and potential

Given the above developments, to what extent is theoretical awareness displayed in the bioarchaeological studies of the Eastern Mediterranean region? To what extent are bioarchaeological studies of human remains from the region theoretically informed? And to go further, to what extent is there further potential to engage in theoretically informed bioarchaeology, of embodied identities in particular, in the Eastern Mediterranean region?

It emerges from the preceding sections that bioarchaeological studies with relevance to investigating identity in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean regions (such as studies of food consumption, bodily movement, and body modification) are indeed being conducted, increasingly so in recent years. The level of explicit reference to theoretical discussions on archaeologies of identity is however mostly lacking, save a few exceptions.

There is clearly some regional variation in terms of the extent to which aspects of bodily movement, consumption or body modification are, and have been studied. Some of this variation is likely due to regional and temporal differences in evidence availability, bone preservation, taphonomy and diagenesis, as well as historical and current practices as to recovery and curation of human remains. The availability of relevant evidence in particular regions and for particular periods, and paucity elsewhere, clearly affects the possibilities for studying cultural practices such as for body modification. Egypt presents often highly preserved human remains, at times complete with soft tissue, but as the various forms of human bodily modification known to bioarchaeologists currently, accomplished on live bodies and affecting the skeleton, such as cranial modification, seem not to have been practiced in ancient Egypt, this domain does not currently present ways forward for further studies. In contrast, Cyprus, regardless of its distinctly poorer bone preservation, presents a fertile area for studies elaborating on body modification and identity. Variations in soil chemistry and bone diagenesis may present as preventing factors for studies of consumption and diet. Cyprus is a case in point, forming a stark contrast with its paucity of studies on diet with the Aegean, for example, with its numerous dietary studies. There is clearly scope for new and more extensive work on diet in the other regions discussed here, and most importantly, in developing the integration of these studies with other types of evidence (material, contextual, textual) on human consumption patterns and food as arenas for negotiating cultural identities. Aspects of bone preservation and high bone element fragmentation may hinder studies of bodily movement, such as in the case of Cyprus. Another set of limiting factors consists of availability of and access to resources, knowledge and know-how (*e.g.* as to instrumentation and analytical procedures for dietary studies), as well as willingness to engage with theoretical discussion.

Despite the limiting factors, there is clearly more than enough evidence available that lends itself to the bioarchaeological study of embodied identities in the Eastern Mediterranean. The exploration of recent bioarchaeological work in the different parts of the region clearly shows that topics of relevance to the bioarchaeological study of embodied identities are being studied, be it to varying extents from region to region. The full integration of such studies with theoretical discussion and mainstream archaeological debates is however still largely lacking. Further, only rarely, if ever, are bioarchaeological studies truly integrated with studies of material culture, context or text, where available.

It is a well-known feature of academic disciplines that they tend to delineate and guard their boundaries carefully. We still frame questions of responsibility as to the (lack of) integration of human skeletal studies with other archaeological material culture studies (alas, the majority of human skeletal studies still end up in the appendices) in terms of whether it is the archaeologists', or the human bone specialists' duty – is it inconceivable that the human bone specialist is the archaeologist, or vice versa? Or that members of a research team would engage, be it in differing extents, in both domains of research activity? Bioarchaeologist have, and should attempt social interpretations of the physical anthropological and palaeopathological data they produce, also in the Eastern

Mediterranean. Likewise, contextual archaeologists would be well served to expect to explore more issues based on human remains' data than aspects of age, sex, stature and pathology.

Regardless of the evident limitations, there is significant potential for further bioarchaeological studies of identity in the region. Integrating evidence from a variety of sources (such as depictions, contextual evidence, texts where available, and human and other biological remains), with appropriate source critique, and through engagement in collaborative multidisciplinary research teams, has the potential to produce more rounded interpretations of aspects of embodied identities in the region. Initially, theoretical explorations may not sit easily with human skeletal studies, frequently focused on description, quantification, and scientific analyses of often vast amounts of detailed data. However it is in this intersection of science and humanities that new approaches capable of coaxing out the most interesting and informative results and interpretations from the remains of the past most probably lie.

Note

1 In short, a depiction of a head with an anomalous shape does not constitute evidence for intentional cultural cranial modification alone – the only secure evidence for intentional cultural cranial modification derives from human remains.

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20

Headshaping and Identity at Tell Nader

Konstantinos Kopanias and Sherry C. Fox

Human skeletal data are presented in this chapter within the context of the archaeological data from the site of Tell Nader in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq to help elucidate long-standing questions of cultural dynamics. In particular, a form of circumferential headshaping has been found in the skeleton of an adult female recovered from the Ubaid site. It is suggested from the integrated results of the study of the human remains in their cultural context that the intentionally produced modification of the cranium recovered from the archaeological site of Tell Nader is linked to group identity in the Ubaid.

Tell al Ubaid is the name of a small site in southern Mesopotamia where a particular black-painted buff pottery was discovered in 1919 (Hall and Woolley 1927). Later excavations unearthed pottery of this style in stratigraphic layers mainly of the 6th and the 5th millennia BC in many sites in southern and northern Mesopotamia, eastern Iran, northern Syria, and southeastern Turkey (map with sites: Carter and Philip 2010a, viii). It is generally thought that pottery of the Ubaid style first appeared in southern Mesopotamia already in the late seventh millennium and gradually spread to the rest of this vast geographic area. The term Ubaid refers not only to this particular pottery category, but also to the contemporaneous chronological period (late 7th–5th millennium BC), as well as to the associated material culture (Stein 2010, 23).

The cultural affinity of the Ubaid sites is indeed not restricted only to the black-on-buff pottery, but includes also the following finds: tripartite buildings, niched-and-buttressed public buildings, communal cemeteries (Carter and Philip 2010b, 4), clay "ophidian figurines" (in southern Mesopotamia), clay nails (with unknown use), flanged clay disks (probably attached on garments as ornaments, as seen on figurines; *e.g.* Daems 2010, 151, fig. 10.3), conical pottery rings and horn-shaped small clay objects (probably used for body piercing). The dietary practices seem also to have been similar, as suggested by the available archaeobotanical evidence (Pollock 2010), but also the fact that very similar vase types were in use in the Ubaid sites. Beer production and consumption is also thought to be a recurring common trait (Joffe 1998). It is evident that, despite the various regional variations, the inhabitants of the Ubaid settlements shared a common way of life.

The oldest occurrence of the Ubaid material culture occurs in southern Mesopotamia in newly founded sites during the later part of the 7th millennium BC. In the case of Tell Awayli, the pottery in the Ubaid 0 layer seems to have been influenced by the Samarra pottery from northern Mesopotamia (McIntosh 2005, 58), which indicates that a movement of people could have taken place at that time from north to south. The Ubaid material culture spreads again to the north only after the middle of the 6th millennium BC and gradually replaces the Halaf culture (Roaf

1998, 53). That is why in many older publications, southern Mesopotamia is usually considered to be the core of this culture and its spread was explained as the result of a migration; some even imply that a colonisation took place, in a comparable way to the so-called Uruk expansion of the 4th millennium BC (Oates 2010). More recent studies give emphasis to the regional diversity of this material culture and prefer to explain the Ubaid phenomenon within a model of "hybridiastion", rather than "acculturation", migration, or colonisation (Carter and Philip 2010b, 7). The main argument against the association of the Ubaid material culture to a particular people is its huge geographical distribution, from western Iran to southeast Anatolia and the Mediterranean shores of Syria; it seems very improbable that a single people would have been able to colonise this vast area. Also the transition from Halaf to Ubaid was gradual and without any hiatus in northern Mesopotamia (Campbell and Fletcher 2010), a fact that speaks against the idea of a violent invasion from the south.

Before theorising, however, a closer examination is needed of the hard evidence at hand. In addition to the scarcity of data, which is often overlooked, is the ambiguity the data present. The important Ubaid sites of Tepe Gawra and Arpachiyah, are presented as examples from northeastern Mesopotamia, east of the Tigris. East of the Great Zab, there is only Qalinj Agha in the city of Erbil, although older investigations of the Directorate of Antiquities of Iraq located a total of 35 Ubaid sites between the Great and the Little Zab (Vértesalji 1984, 164, table 7). These sites have been called Ubaid, even though, apparently in most cases, no more than a few surface sherds of Ubaid pottery were found. Even among excavated sites, like Qalinj Agha, and the extensively excavated sites of Tepe Gawra and Arpachiyah, the lack of documentation of essential information inhibits attempts for accurate interpretations. There is doubtless fact that a significant amount of Ubaid pottery has been unearthed from these sites, but its relationship to locally produced non-Ubaid pottery is less well understood. Additionally, the number of the contemporary sites with only locally produced, undecorated non-Ubaid pottery (which in fact still remains undated) is unknown. Another factor that renders such distribution maps rather problematic is the preference of archaeologists and our criteria for the selection of excavations sites. This is also the case of Tell Nader (excavated since 2011) and Tell Surezha (excavated since 2013) in the Erbil province, which were selected because Ubaid pottery was discovered on the surface. According to the Directorate of Antiquities of the Erbil province, a total of 3000 archaeological sites lie within their jurisdiction, but nothing is known about contemporary non-Ubaid sites. Surface surveys cannot reveal these sites, at least not without knowledge about the undecorated and locally produced pottery of this region.

We should not underestimate the fact that the similarities in the Ubaid material culture are not only evident in the public aspects of life (tripartite building, communal cemeteries), but also in private everyday life (dietary customs, as well as the use of clay nails, flanged disks, conical rings and horn-shaped objects). Those who reject the idea that the Ubaid culture was connected to a particular group of people, have proposed several theories, in order to explain why different people would choose to adopt this particular way of life:

1. the Ubaid culture was adopted by their elites, as a means to form communal identity and consolidate their social status; but the elites in the 6th and 5th millennia BC do remain elusive so far (Carter and Philip 2010b, 12–3).
2. the Ubaid was spread, because of the need to create an extensive trade network for the import of needed raw and also exotic material (Stein and Özbal 2007, 332). Nevertheless, the imported materials in Ubaid sites were relatively rare and even the use of obsidian was very restricted (Healey 2010, 183–6, pls 13.1–4). There is absolutely no evidence, which suggests that extensive trade networks existed in the Ubaid period. It is in the opinion of the authors that the trade of obsidian was more probably not conducted by "professional traders", but was mainly in the hands of nomadic populations, regularly moving between southeastern Anatolia and Mesopotamia.

Based on the available data, the safest assumption would be to associate the Ubaid material culture to a particular group of tribes, who spread throughout the Near East and formed more or less isolated clusters of settlements. This migration was in no way similar to the Uruk trade network of the 4th millennium BC, but was probably more similar to the migration of the Aramaic people during the late 2nd and early 1st millennia BC. There is in fact a relatively new argument, which could be used in favour of this interpretation, namely the use of headshaping.

Headshaping and the study of the human remains

As Pollock (2011, 31) recently noted "until quite recently, archaeologists working in the Near East tended to ignore human remains, focusing instead almost solely on the construction of tombs and provisioning of the dead with grave goods". It could be added that the hunt for cuneiform inscriptions is still present among some archaeologists in the region. In addition to an emphasis on architecture and artifacts in Near Eastern archaeology, scientific investigations of archaeological sites, including bioarchaeological research, have been limited. The authors are not underestimating the importance of information gleaned from inscriptions, architecture and pottery; rather they are attempting to emphasise what can be gained from a careful study of human skeletal remains. Buikstra *et al.* (2011, 14) state that:

> "until recently, remnant bodies of past individuals were treated only sporadically in archaeological investigations of embodiment and the life course. Given the direct, fine-grained information that both mummified and skeletal human remains can provide about embodied lives in the past as well as their commonplace recovery from archaeological contexts, this oversight is surprising … Only more recently have scholars begun to expand this line of inquiry, in terms of body modification and adornment, sex and gender and age".

More specific to the region, Pollock (2011) continues:

> "the result of this neglect of bioarchaeological evidence can be seen in the sparse data available on most Halaf-period human remains, which are principally reported in terms of their more strictly 'archaeological' characteristics".

The study of the human remains from Tell Nader allows for a better understanding of the way of life of the people from the site. One discovery among the remains of an adult female from the site, in particular, provides evidence for headshaping. Headshaping is a permanent form of body modification and it was presumably initiated by the family of a child by applying bindings to its head in infancy. It is known in many different forms among various cultures around the world, and at different times from prehistory to the present, and in addition to marking individual identity, headshaping can indicate social status, gender, as well as tribal identity (Croucher 2010; Lorentz 2010; for an extensive discussion of embodiment as it pertains to body modification, see Lorentz, this volume).

Lorentz (2009) lists 14 Ubaid sites or sites dating to around the time of the Ubaid in present-day Turkey (Degirmentepe, Sey Hoyuk), Iran (Tepe Ghenil, Ganj Dareh, Tepe Abdul Hosein, Ali Kosh, Seh Gabi, Shaga Sefid, Qumrud, Choga Mish), and Iraq (Eridu, Tell Arpachiyah, Telul-eth Thalathat, and Tell Madhur) with human remains demonstrating circumferential forms of headshaping. The vast majority of these sites are published, although the majority of sites from the Ubaid (about two-thirds of the total number of known sites), for a number of reasons do not possess human remains demonstrating headshaping, (*i.e.* poor preservation, human remains either not recovered or not saved *etc.*). It could be additionally argued that this form of headshaping, at least as depicted in an adult male from perhaps Middle Bronze Age Enkomi, in Cyprus, demonstrates a circumferential form of headshaping produced by two bands (Lorentz 2009, 80, fig. 5.2). The extent of the practice at Enkomi or whether this individual originated from somewhere else remains to be determined. What is certain, however, is that Tell Nader must now be added to the growing list of Ubaid period sites demonstrating a circumferential form of headshaping. Although the reconstruction of the position of the bindings belonging to the adult woman recovered from a disused kiln at Tell Nader may vary somewhat from the standard reference, it nevertheless demonstrates the value of bioarchaeological analyses and also documents that headshaping existed in northern Mesopotamia during the late 5th millennium BC.

Archaeological context from Tell Nader

To date, two excavation seasons have taken place in Tell Nader (2011–12). Several pyrotechnic clay constructions were revealed, which belong to the same chronological horizon, namely, the Late Ubaid, including a two-chambered sun-dried clay construction with irregular walls (probably a kiln), a small clay oval-shaped oven, a circular clay oven, a circular arrangement of pebbles, and a concentration of large river stones (Fig. 20.1) (Kopanias *et al.* 2014). The site has produced thus far all typical find categories expected in Ubaid sites (pottery, clay nails, labrets *etc.*). Under a concentration of small stones, two more circular clay kilns were discovered. The western one was damaged. Within the eastern one, there was an inhumation burial of an adult woman ("Skeleton 2") with her head oriented to

the west (Fig. 20.2). Her legs were flexed, her hands positioned under her breast and belly, but strangely, her body was in a prone position with her face facing into the ground. The kiln was too small for the body, so her feet stuck out. The impression given is that the female was placed inside the kiln without a great deal of care. Her prone position was, nonetheless, intentional. Several pieces of clay were found near her head, an indication that the soil was thrown very carelessly on the dead body. No funerary offerings were found inside the grave, with the exception of three dog teeth, all from different animals.

Bioarchaeological analysis

The excavation of "Skeleton 2" was carried out by S. Fox, M. Koutsoubou and A. Hadjikoumis. The skeleton was transported to Athens and its study took place at the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies. The cranium was reconstructed, the remains were photographed, pathological material was radiographed, the skull was CT-scanned, and select samples were taken for radiocarbon and stable isotope analyses (Fig. 20.3). The right lower leg from "Skeleton 2" was not recovered, and although virtually complete, this skeleton is also in a poor state of preservation. Following completion of the study, "Skeleton 2" has been returned to Erbil and is now kept at the Civilisation Museum. The sex of this adult is female based upon pelvic and cranial morphologies. Her age at death appears to be 25–39 years based upon pelvic morphologies as defined by Lovejoy *et al.* (1985). In particular, the auricular surface morphologies of her ilia were examined and it was found that the left auricular surface appears to be a Phase 4 (35–39 years) when compared to the right (Phase 2/3, or 25–34 years at the age of death). Her stature could be reconstructed to 163.9 cm+4.6 cm (5' 2 3/4"–5' 6 1/4") based upon the length of her left ulna (24.1 cm) using the formula developed by Trotter and Gleser (1958). Thirteen teeth were recovered from "Skeleton 2", including eight teeth and an additional root within the mandible (#17–#20, root only of #23 as crown is lost postmortem, #27, #30–#32) along with the following loose teeth: #6, #22, #24, #26, and #29. Attrition is not pronounced. Evidence in the form of dental enamel hypoplasias of the mandibular right canine, which is rotated distally, demonstrates a disturbance of growth during infancy or early childhood, perhaps from malnutrition, fever, or a constitutional disorder. Unfortunately, the poorly preserved remains, including samples from both mid-shaft cortical bone of a femur and a premolar tooth have failed to produce radiocarbon dates at the University of Arizona's radiocarbon laboratory. Stable nitrogen isotope analysis to aid in dietary reconstruction, was conducted at the University of Oxford, and similarly produced no results. The collagen is simply too degraded from the skeleton.

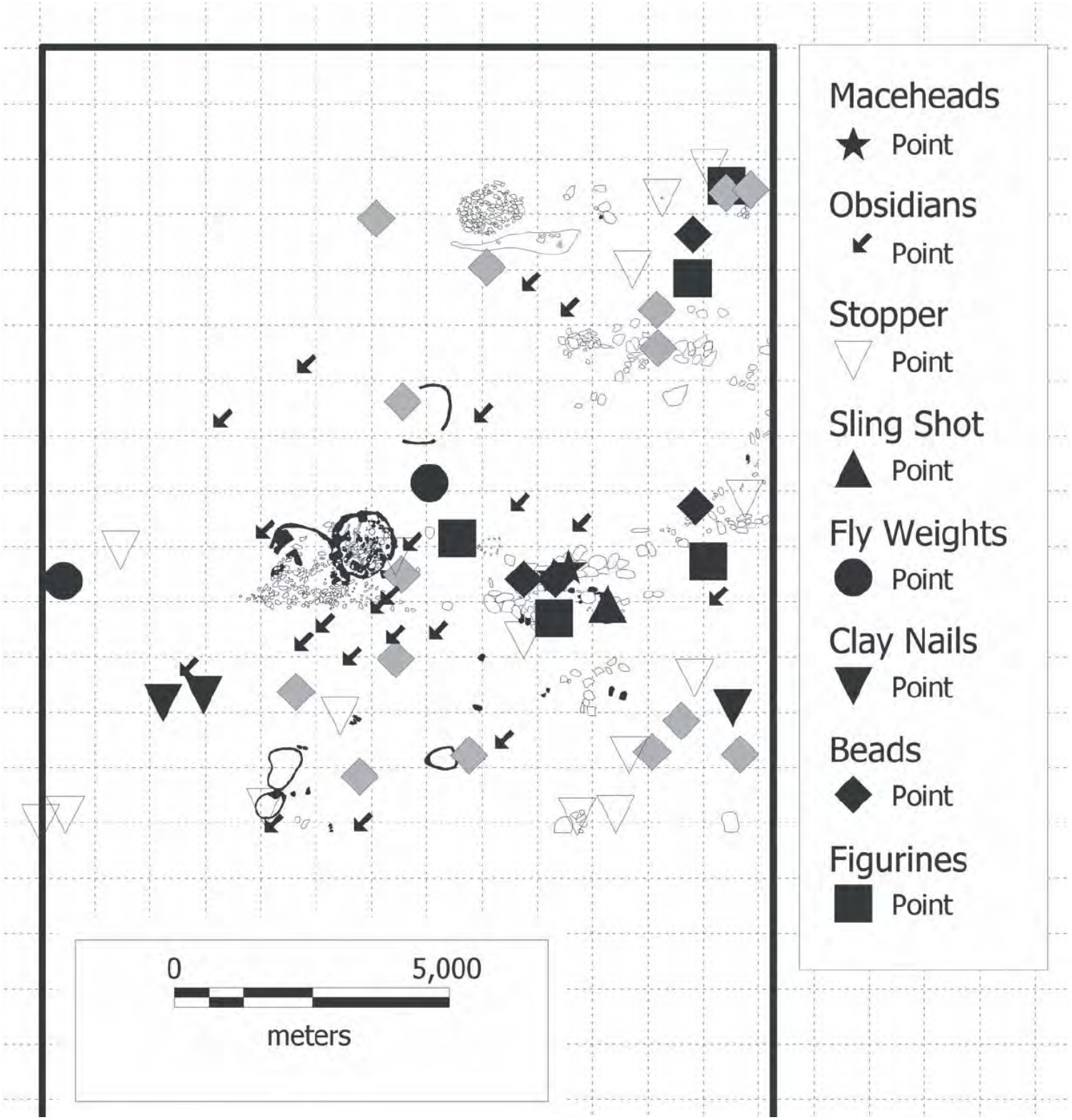

Figure 20.1: Tell Nader. Plan of Layers 1, 2a–c and finds (plan drawn by K. Kopanias).

Figure 20.2: Tell Nader. Kiln with burial (photograph and drawing by K. Kopanias. 3D-reconstruction by L. Kopania).

Conservator, Michel Roggenbucke, painstakingly reconstructed the poorly preserved cranium of "Skeleton 2". The reconstruction has led to a couple of discoveries, including the presence of extrasutural bones within the lambdoidal suture. What is clearly depicted, as has been mentioned previously, is evidence that this woman had been headshaped in infancy, likely during the first two years of her life. Additionally, a well-healed circular depressed cranial fracture, approximately 2 cm in diameter, was found on her right parietal near the parietal foramen and the sagittal suture (Fig. 20.4). There is no indication that the inner table was affected by the cranial trauma although interpretations are being made about the effects of this trauma on this individual's life (Kopanias *et al*. 2014).

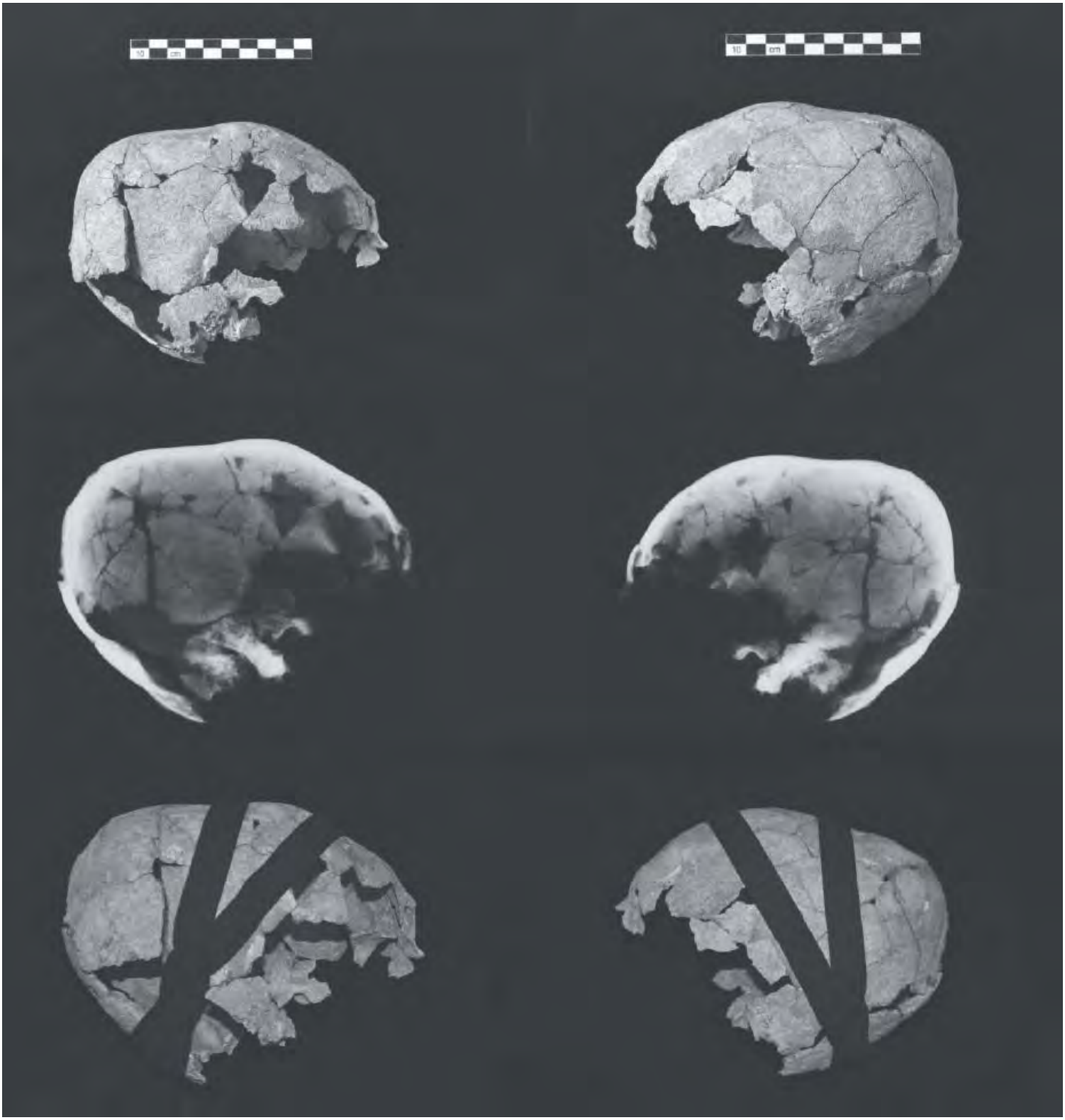

Figure 20.3: Tell Nader. Cranium with headshaping (photographs and X-rays taken by S. Fox).

Conclusions about "Skeleton 2"

With regard to "Skeleton 2" from Tell Nader, no other prone burials are known from the Ubaid, nor are other burials within kilns known to the authors from this time period. The lack of grave goods is documented, aside from the three dog teeth found near her head. It is certain that they belonged to different animals as they represent different aged dogs, according to zooarchaeologist, Angelos Hadjikoumis, but whether she wore them during life (perhaps in a pouch around her neck as they were not perforated), or they were a gift during her burial, or were even used as apotropaic magic objects to protect the living from the spirit of this particular individual, remains unknown. The fact that this adult woman was buried prone likely indicates something about the feeling of fear expressed by the living. She was placed face down to remain down. Fox (2012) suggests that brain injury to the right parietal lobe may have accompanied the cranial trauma producing other symptoms such as seizure disorder, personality change, memory loss, headaches, the inability for her to recognise her body, and any number of behaviours that could have caused her to have been excluded or marginalised from her community. Marginalised in death, she may have been similarly marginalised during life, at least since the time of her cranial trauma. She had not apparently experienced an easy childhood either, as demonstrated by linear enamel hypoplasias on the rotated mandibular right canine (#27). Enamel hypoplasias indicate an interruption in growth during the time of enamel formation that can be caused by malnutrition, fever, or any number of constitutional disorders.

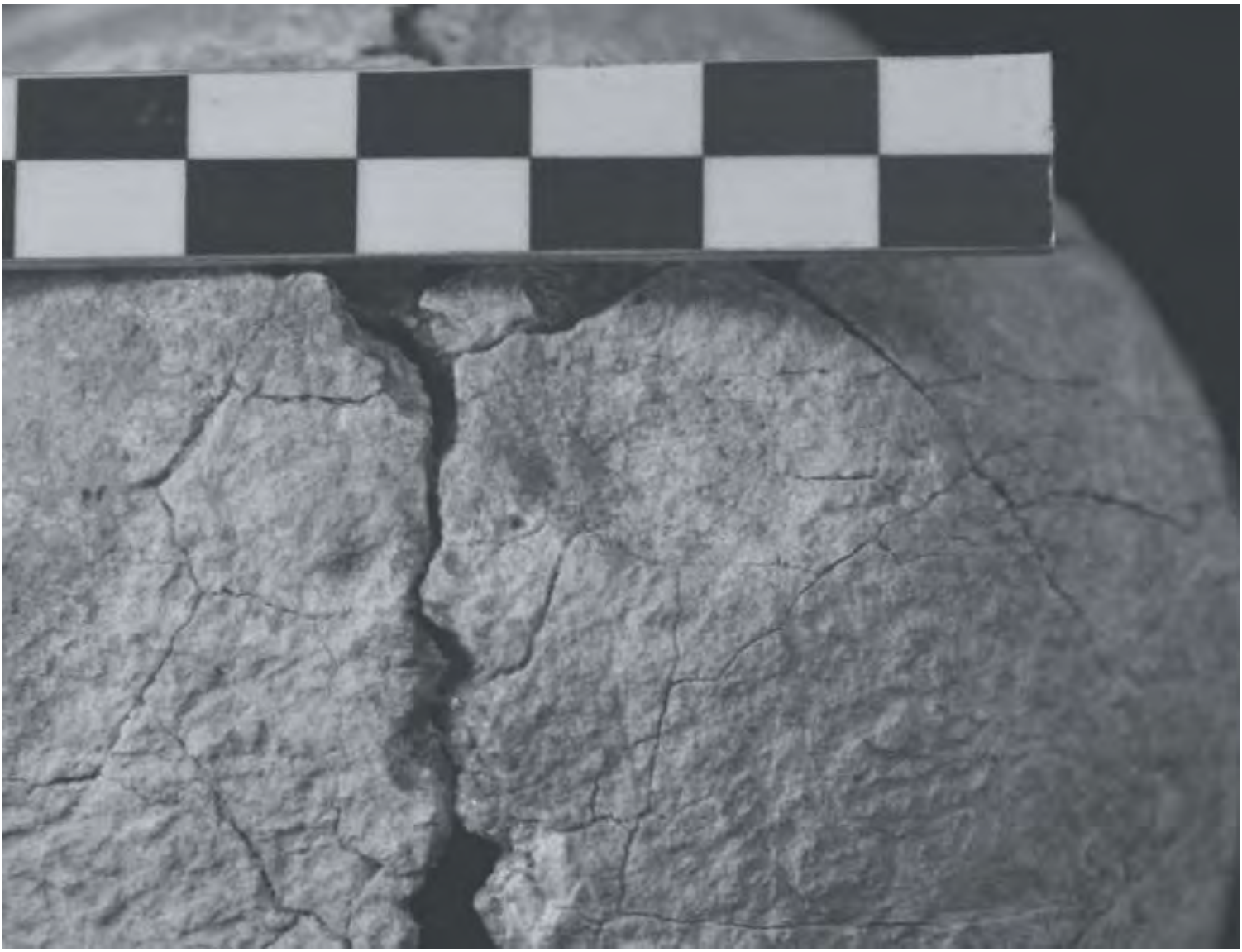

Figure 20.4: Tell Nader. Cranial trauma (photograph by S. Fox).

The type of headshaping this individual expressed was produced by two bands having been placed circumferentially around her head and secured at the back of her head (in the occipital region) during infancy (see above Fig. 20.3). The flatness of the occipital region indicates that the bindings were affixed to a flat object for securing them under her head. In no way was the mandible involved in the headshaping of this woman at Tell Nader,

as indicated by the lack of binding marks on the inferior border of the horizontal ramus of the lower jaw. Even with remodeling over the course of the years, the binding marks should have been visible if the mandible had been involved. At Byblos, Özbek (1974) suggests that the mouth was tied shut with one of the bindings to achieve the form of headshaping identified there. As it is necessary for the infant mandible to move during breastfeeding, it does not seem conducive to survival to bind the jaw shut, nor expedient for the mother to repeatedly bind and unbind her infant's head as the baby breastfeeds:

> "While the Eridu series points to a universal prevalence of circumferential headshaping within a mortuary population, the Degirmentepe and Tell Arpachiyah series possibly point to differential modification practices (modified and unmodified). It is also clear that there are differences in degree and sub-type (one-band and two-band type) of circumferentail headshaping. The Degirmentepe and Seyh Hoyuk series illustrate this particularly well. At the latter site there may have been differences between male and female head modifications, but the small sample size prevents any firm conclusions". (Lorentz 2010, 133)

With regard to the circumferential type of headshaping produced from two bands, as in the case of the female ("Skeleton 2") at Tell Nader, the reconstruction of the bindings to produce the desired effect consistent with the morphology of the human crania and mandibles expressing this form, must be better defined. While antero-posterior forms of headshaping may not be intentional, but rather a side-effect of cradle-boarding, what is clear is that "the Ubaid circumferential headshaping is clearly intentional" (Lorentz 2010, 136).

Conclusions regarding headshaping during the Ubaid

Hampered by poor preservation, poor collection, and incomplete recording, it is obvious that more work is needed with regard to headshaping in the Ubaid. Only then will the identity of the people demonstrating this form of body modification be better understood. Further investigations must also be undertaken to determine the prevalence of headshaping, the degree of headshaping, and the kinds of sociocultural differences marked by headshaping such as status, gender or group identity. What is apparent is that a similar type of headshaping (circumferential) was practiced in many Ubaid settlements over an extensive area. It could have been important for baby girls during the Ubaid period to have been headshaped, for example, if the culture practiced patrilocality and female exogamy, where females married outside the group and moved to live with their husbands. They would literally carry their identity with them.

In the case of the Ubaid settlements it is difficult to make clear definitive statements about the cultural affinity or the "ethnicity" of the people who lived in them. Pots do not speak, and the reluctance of recent scholarship to associate the Ubaid pottery with a particular people is understandable. Nevertheless, there is a lot more evidence than just pottery, which suggest that people in the Ubaid sites had a very similar way of private and public life. Headshaping is an important new element, which hints to the association of the Ubaid material culture with a particular population group that extended through a great expanse of geographical space, from the Persian Gulf in Iran to the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean in Syria (and in between) and over the course of time of at least two millennia. The form of headshaping associated with the Ubaid, is a circumferential variety that was produced by application of two bands secured at the back of the head during infancy. Parents perpetuated this form of headshaping that formed a permanent indicator of group identity for the individual, and for which that individual had no control. During the 6th millennium BC, these people gradually spread throughout the Near East and created nucleated settlements in various regions, some of which grew and reached a significant size. It seems that there was no "political centre" controlling this migration and no "core" or "periphery" can be determined. The need for long-distant trade does not seem to have played any significant role for this migration. The case of the Ubaid sites in the Persian Gulf (in areas with scarcity of water and without any raw materials) clearly shows that, at least in the initial phase, the main reason for the establishment of new settlements was the effort of migrating groups to find arable lands and pastures able to provide means for their sustenance (for a more detailed discussion see Kopanias *et al*. 2013; Kopanias forthcoming).

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21

Constructing Identities by Ageing the Body in the Prehistoric Aegean: the View through the Human Remains

Sevi Triantaphyllou

Introduction: the perception of age and previous work in the prehistoric Aegean

Until recently the perception of age had drawn minimal attention in archaeological research which has been dominated by studies concerning the importance of gender. Work, however, undertaken from the '90s onwards (Gero and Conkey 1991; Moore and Scott 1997; Montserrat 1998; Hamilakis *et al.* 2001; Díaz-Andreu *et al.* 2005; Joyce 2005; Gowland and Knüsel 2006; Lucy 2005; Sofaer 2006; Insoll 2007; Borić and Robb 2008; Rebay-Salisbury *et al.* 2010; Robb *et al.* 2013) on the archaeology of the body has put forward new arguments as regards the construction of age but also, more lately, the link of gender with age over the life course and the way that prehistoric societies contextualise the human body within material culture. Thus, a new era was introduced by raising a dynamic discussion in the field of social identities that viewed with skepticism the concept of the body as a monolithic object suggesting instead a fluidity between the biological and social nature of the body (*e.g.* Borić and Robb 2008; Robb and Harris 2013). There is not one body that does not change in different historical contexts and over the life course. On the contrary, "there are many different bodies which can be understood in different ways at different points of time" (Harris and Robb 2013, 16). Besides, personal identities which were overloaded diachronically by biological attributes, such as the age and sex of an individual, have been demonstrated to constitute largely social constructions based partly on biological development, growth and degeneration, but most importantly on perceptions of different cultures which distort divisions between the social and the physical body. In a similar way, there is not one linear concept of age from birth to death; in recent bioarchaeological research, age and ageing have begun to be discussed in relation to other disciplines such as philosophy, psychology, social anthropology and sociology (Gowland 2006; Sofaer 2011).

Moreover, apart from the study of the human remains, the construction of age in the past can been viewed in combination with different aspects of material culture, the representation but also the display of the body in different contexts ranging, for example, from common dressing items applied on a daily basis to special costume settings of ritual, religion, economic, political or other character events and "rites of passage". A parallel study of items of material culture which embody the complexity of lived experiences and individual "biographies" and of mortuary contexts, which reflect the symbolic and cosmological scenery that the living set up after death, can shed light to the importance of age and ageing in the past. Although analyses of mortuary contexts have been widely applied in

archaeological populations, the combined use of skeletal remains in addressing issues related to the construction of age in the past has received little attention by the scholars. The latter is partly due to the persistence of human bone specialists to neglect the social constitution of the human body by remaining strongly attached to the purely scientific methodology of physical anthropology.

Furthermore, the classification of age groups in archaeological populations is highly affected by our western perceptions. In discussions concerning aspects of social organisation, therefore, there is not a well-defined distinction between age categories, or when there is, age groups are blurred under the general umbrella of "subadults" versus "adults". Within the wider framework of the archaeology of the body, however, raised in the 1990s onwards, as already mentioned above, the roles and contributions of the different age groups in different societies began to draw special attention with a particular focus on children and childhood (*e.g.* Sofaer Derevenski 1997; 2000; Baxter 2005). There is still little work conducted with regards to the various stages of adulthood and elderly people (Agarwal and Stout 2003; Sofaer 2011; Agarwal 2012) while more discussion has been developed in relation to young adulthood, motherhood and in general to those age categories that may be considered, according to our western notions, of particular importance as critical components to the viability of prehistoric societies.

As regards the prehistoric Aegean, whereas there is a remarkable volume of work paying much attention to the perception of gender reflected particularly through items of material culture and the representation of the human body (Koehl 1986; Rehak 1999; 2002; Olsen 1998; German 2000; Lee 2000; Kopaka 2009), the importance of age in forming identities is less commonly taken into consideration. Besides, a discussion of gender and/or age identities in mortuary contexts combining biological attributes from the study of human remains is remarkably lacking from the prehistoric Aegean (Mee and Cavanagh 1998, 127, 128) with the exception of the work conducted by Ingvarsson-Sundström (2008) and more recently by Pomadère (2008).

Literature which is related to the concept of age in the area, with a particular interest in childhood, included two collections of contributions which focus primarily on the Classical Antiquity: the *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past* (2003) and *Constructions of Childhood in ancient Greece and Italy* (2007). In the former, Rutter's paper discussed the perception of children in Aegean prehistory and in the latter, Chapin's article raised aspects of youth detected from the Neopalatial frescoes of Thera which have been interpreted to represent age-related initiatory rituals. Rutter, in particular, offered a detailed diachronic overview of different forms of evidence which include: pictorial art derived from figurines and frescoes, artefacts associated with children and adolescents, such as feeding bottles and other miniature items associated often with burial assemblages, texts of linear B and fingerprints of children on Linear B tablets while the evidence of the physical remains was extremely dispersed and scarce. In his general conclusions, Rutter followed the same line with Olsen's earlier remarks (1998) by pointing out the different ways that the living communities in the mainland and on Crete viewed children in prehistory, although there is a clear bias of material evidence towards the Late Bronze Age (LBA). In the mainland, children were perceived as components of a nuclear family since, when they are represented in pictorial art, they are accompanied by one or more parents. Children on Crete, on the other hand, were recognised in "various stages of life either as individuals or members of peer groups" underlining thus a more independent role in their communities (Rutter 2003, 49 but see also Olsen 1998 for Mycenaean children in particular). More recently, despite the increasing development towards the investigation of issues concerning childhood and its link with aspects of material culture in the prehistoric Aegean (*e.g.* Pomadère 2007; 2008; 2010; 2012; Wardle and Wardle 2007 but also Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1994), there is still a notable absence of a parallel discussion that would place an equal weight on the actual evidence of the human remains and their biological attributes with reference to the perception of age.

The present paper attempts to touch upon, unavoidably in a very selective way, the updated data derived from the physical human remains of studied cemetery populations in the prehistoric Aegean by investigating the differential modes of disposal of the deceased and the spatial arrangement of the human remains at the inter-cemetery level based on the chronological age variation of the individuals.

The view of human remains

Human bone specialists recognised early on the problems of ageing methods, especially in estimating the

chronological age from mature skeletal remains (Chamberlain 2000; 2001). In adults, over the age of twenty, the skeleton has stopped developing and age is estimated by the combined use of techniques which assess the degree of degenerative changes in certain anatomical areas of the skeleton and tooth wear (*e.g.* Mays 1998). Ageing the non-adults, on the other hand, is a more straightforward and secure process relying on the estimation of the degree of growth development and epiphyseal fusion of the long bones but also the degree of tooth eruption and formation depending on the relative representation of the elements on the skeleton (*e.g.* Scheuer and Black 2000; Lewis 2007). Clearly, it is not always possible to deal with fully intact skeletons that could provide all necessary anatomical areas for accurate ageing. Demographic studies ascertain that in most prehistoric populations childhood mortality reached at least 50% and for a stable and slowly growing population this implies that at least half of the living individuals in any given community belonged to the age category under 18 years old (Chamberlain 1997, 249). In a similar way, although it is generally accepted that in past populations perhaps few individuals would have reached older age groups, those who had survived infancy would have been expected to constitute a remarkable proportion among the adult component of a stable population in physiological death rates (Chamberlain 2001; Agarwall 2012, 331).

With regards to the prehistoric Aegean, the systematic collection, documentation and study of the human skeletal remains have been rapidly accelerated in the last twenty years (Lagia *et al.* 2014, fig. 8.1). The overall picture, however, of the distribution of the studied cases in the region throughout prehistory is uneven and reflects to a certain degree the selective focus of research on certain areas and timespans. Issues, thus, relating particularly the treatment of the deceased to biological attributes have been investigated in prehistoric cemetery populations from northern Greece, the Peloponnese, Crete and to a lesser degree Thessaly. The Cyclades, as well as the LBA central Greece and the Peloponnese, despite the large number of excavated skeletons and the plethora of studies of items of material culture, demonstrate a low score in the systematic investigation of the skeletal material.

Neolithic burial practices (6th–5th millennium BC) are characterised by an evident diversity in the modes of disposal of the deceased with primary and secondary inhumations, but also scattered bones, represented throughout the period in open-air settlements, in caves and in organised cemeteries (*e.g.* Fowler 2004; Triantaphyllou 2008). At Franchthi cave, in the northern Peloponnese, Early Neolithic (EN)–Middle Neolithic (MN) scattered bones, as well as primary inhumations, have been found both inside the cave and on the associated Paralia open-air site. Primary burials and bone scatters differ slightly in the representation of age groups between the cave and the Paralia: there is a slightly higher incidence of infants (0–2 years) and juveniles (2–12 years) in the burials of the cave. It is striking also that adult burials at Paralia are usually fragmentary and incomplete, represented by partially articulated bones, contrary to non-adult burials which were usually laid down fully articulated in shallow pits without grave goods (Jacobsen and Cullen 1981; Cullen 1999). At Late Neolithic (LN)–Final Neolithic (FN) Alepotrypa cave in the southern Peloponnese, primary inhumations and secondary burials are associated with evidence for differential treatment of skulls (Papathanassopoulos 1971; 1996; Papathanasiou 2001). Similarly to Franchthi, the majority of bone scatters in Alepotrypa cave appear to belong to adults suggesting perhaps their involvement in some type of post-burial manipulation of the deceased which would require the temporary disposal of the adult body and the selective disintegration and deposition of body parts within segregated areas of the cave recognised as ossuaries (Papathanasiou 2001). Late Neolithic–Final Neolithic Skoteini cave, on Euboea in central Greece, yielded scattered human bones from perhaps 14 infants, children, pre-adolescents and young adults, while six pits in the nearby open-air cemetery contained parts (with long bones under-represented) of 24 individuals, of whom 17 were mature adults (Stravopodi 1993). A special treatment of the neonates and infants under 6 years old can be distinguished also in Crete, at EN Knossos intramural burials located within the habitation area of the settlement. Eight such burials were found articulated in a flexed position and on the same orientation while adults gave no evidence of formal disposal apart from scattered remains only (Triantaphyllou 2008, 143–4).

In northern Greece, neonates are only represented in EN Nea Nikomedeia (eight out of 34 individuals) (Triantaphyllou 2001, table 4.7) whereas at the recently excavated sites of EN Revenia (Triantaphyllou and Adaktylou forthcoming) and EN Mavropigi-Filotsairi (Papathanasiou and Richards 2011, table 3) almost half of the extant skeletons belong to individuals under 18 years old. In all assemblages above, contrary to the expected picture, the highest rates of adult deaths can be observed in the age category of prime adults (30–40 years old). Interestingly, apart from the striking absence of neonates and the under-representation of mature adults over 40 years of age, no variation depending on age can be discerned in the modes of disposal of the deceased who are interred in shallow

pits within the settlement. At LN Makriyialos I, in central Macedonia, it seems likely that Ditch A, located at the periphery of the core settlement, was the main locus for primary inhumation and that most burials were disinterred and body parts were re-deposited there or elsewhere (Triantaphyllou 2001, 51; 2008, 141). In terms of age groups, infants, children, juveniles and adults are all represented among both articulated and disarticulated remains. There is, however, a striking under-representation of individuals under 18 years old and an absence of neonates, while the adult category includes primarily young adults between 18 to 30 years old suggesting an under-representation of mature individuals over their thirties. At LN Toumba Kremastis-Koilada, in western Macedonia, excavation beyond the limits of the tell site exposed sections of ditches and some 400 pits, all of early LN date. All age groups are represented, but adults and younger individuals differed in terms of the treatment of the body. Most of the disarticulated human material found in the pits belongs to adults while two articulated neonates were found in the ditches and articulated skeletons of two further subadult individuals were also contained in the pits (a 12-year-old and a 4-year-old) (Triantaphyllou 2008, 143).

In the 3rd millennium BC, individual graves grouped in cemeteries away from the settlements become the norm in most regions of the Aegean although intramural burials are not absent (Mee and Cavanagh 1998, 18–21). In contrast, Crete exhibits a remarkable regional diversity in mortuary practices distinguished by the communal character of deposition represented by skeletal assemblages housed within the tholos tombs dispersed primarily in central-southern Crete, the house tombs and the rock-cut cist graves on the north coast and the rock shelters (*e.g.* Legarra Herrero 2014). Differential treatment of the deceased according to age groups can be suggested for a limited number of communal character burial assemblages on prepalatial Crete. In particular, in three out of six recently investigated tholos tombs, individuals under 18 years old are significantly under-represented: namely the tholos tomb Gamma, at Archanes (Triantaphyllou 2005, 68–9), at Moni Odigitria B in the Asterousia mountains and at Livari Skiadi in south-eastern Crete (Triantaphyllou in press; forthcoming b).

In northern Greece, the Early Bronze Age (EBA) cemetery at Xeropigado-Koilada in western Macedonia consists of 222 graves accomodating mostly single inhumations of 220 individuals placed in a flexed position. All age groups, infants, children and adolescents, but also adults between 18 and 40 years, are well represented although neonates under 12 months, as well as mature adults over 40 years old, are significantly under-represented. Furthermore, when age is combined with biological sex, young adult women (18–20 years) and prime adult men (20–30 years) exhibit a strict standardisation in terms of high energy expenditure regarding the construction and marking of the tombs, but also the associated grave goods. Infants and children at Xeropigado-Koilada cemetery are also commonly associated with certain grave types, that is cist graves and pot burials (Triantaphyllou 2001, 23; Ziota and Triantaphyllou 2004, 39–41). At EBA Archontiko, in central Macedonia, the well-organised plan of the settlement, consisting of similar in size and orientation houses with persistent domestic equipment which includes thermal constructions and hearths intended for cooking and food processing activities, stressed the autonomous character of the households (Papaefthimiou-Papanthimou and Pilali-Papasteriou 1999, 167–8; Papaefthimiou-Papanthimou 2010, 172). Intramural burials placed underneath the house floors in flexed position, associated often with thermal constructions, are represented by seven newborn babies and individuals under 18 months, while adult individuals have been recognised only as fragmented remains scattered in the settlement deposits (Triantaphyllou pers. investigation).

In the early 2nd millennium BC, in the mainland, the dead were buried in intramural graves below or in between houses, while from the Middle Helladic (MH) II onwards and particularly from the end of the period, extramural cemeteries also made their appearance (Mee and Cavanagh 1998, 24–5; Voutsaki 2010, 104). Intramural burials at Lerna (Angel 1971; Triantaphyllou in Voutsaki *et al.* 2006, 95–102; 2010a; 2010b), Aspis (Triantaphyllou in Touchais and Touchais 2011; 2002; Triantaphyllou 2010a; 2010b), and the Lower town at Asine (Nordquist and Ingvarsson-Sundström 2005; Ingvarsson-Sundström 2008) accommodated all age groups including individuals close to birth, but there is a remarkable under-representation of adults over 40 years old (Triantaphyllou in Voutsaki *et al.* 2006, 95–102; 2010a; 2010b). At the end of the period, extramural cemeteries such as the East cemetery at Asine (Ingvarsson-Sundström in Voutsaki *et al.* 2006, 70–6; 2011), the Argos tumuli (Triantaphyllou in Voutsaki *et al.* 2007, 88–9; 2009, 179–88; 2010b) and the Grave Circle B at Mycenae (Angel 1973; Triantaphyllou in Voutsaki *et al.* 2006, 90–1; 2010a; 2010b) exhibit an emerging preferential selection according to age which favours mainly adult individuals between 18 and 50 years old with only a few children and adolescents. At Asine, in particular, at

the end of the MH period, three areas appear to be in use concurrently: the Lower town with burials in between the houses, the extramural cemetery at Barbouna located on the hill to the northwest of Kastraki promontory and the East Cemetery. It is striking that at the East extramural cemetery, all age groups are represented apart from the neonates and the stillbirths. In contrast, at the Barbouna cemetery, the neonates predominate while adults over 40 years old are completely missing (Ingvarsson-Sundström in Voutsaki *et al.* 2006, 70–6). Age, therefore, appears to be a fundamental criterion in the selection of an area for the disposal of the deceased at Asine in the Argolid.

On Crete, in several sites, the prepalatial tholos and house tombs remain in use during the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC (Soles 1992; Branigan 1993; Legarra Herrero 2014). Ongoing investigation of the human skeletal remains from two cemeteries on the north coast of the island, that is Sissi and Kephala Petra-Siteia, is consistent with a similar representation of all age categories including the mature and old aged adults over 45 years old, although differential treatment of certain subadult age groups can be recognised between the two sites. More specifically, whereas neonates and early infants (0–3 years) at Sissi were placed in flexed position in pithos burials (Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009; Crevecoeur *et al.* 2015), at Kephala Petra-Siteia, infants (1–6 years) and children (6–12 years) were recognised only in disarticulated form. Besides, at Kephala Petra-Siteia, in one house tomb (HT 2) out of 11, there is one room (Room 2) out of four which appears to have accommodated the disarticulated remains of three subadults (0–12 years) and of one young man only suggesting, therefore, a possible segregation between the rooms of the House tomb according to age (Triantaphyllou forthcoming b; Triantaphyllou *et al.* forthcoming).

In the mid- and late 2nd millennium BC across the Aegean, there is a wide diversity in the funerary programme, although family tombs invested with high energy expenditure, such as tholos and rock cut chamber tombs in the South (Mee and Cavanagh 1998), but also simpler cist and built graves in the North, are the norm. A common feature in several cases is the practice of secondary burials, as well as evidence for post-burial activities taking place either within or outside the graves, on areas especially formed to commemorate the dead and gather together the living community. At LBA Spathes, in northern Greece, a well-organised cemetery located in the highlands of the mount Olympus exhibits a particularly strong Mycenaeanising identity in terms of material culture, neonates are completely absent, individuals between 1 and 18 years old are significantly under-represented and elderly people are also missing. It is worth pointing out that when infants, children and adolescents are present at LBA Spathes, they were always accompanied by adult individuals – over 18 years old. Similarly, the subadult age categories (under 18 years old) are completely missing from the MBA-LBA tumuli at Pigi Athenas, while individuals only over 4 years old are present in the nearby Middle Bronze Age (MBA) Valtos-Leptokarya tumuli, in southern Pieria. In contrast, in both burial precincts, adults over 20 years old including mature and elderly individuals (40–50 years old) are well represented (Tsitsaroli 2010, table 1). At LBA Faia Petra burial enclosures situated on a terrace in a semi-mountainous area in the prefecture of Serres in eastern Macedonia, only a few children and adolescents accompanying adult burials were identified, in the same manner already pointed out a for LBA Spathes. Interestingly, one neonate (0–12 months) – the only one recognised in the cemetery – was placed in a single built grave. Furthermore, the recently recovered intramural burials at LBA Toumba Thessalonikis yielded individuals of all age groups including elderly people over 40 years old placed within and among the houses, underneath the floors and in open areas of the settlement such as streets and courtyards, although infants, children and adolescents clearly predominate. Furthermore, early infants (1.5 and 2 years old) were placed in a flexed position on their left side as opposed to the extended position which is the rule for all age groups over 3 years old. There is no evidence of newborn babies in either articulated or disarticulated form (Andreou *et al.* 2014, 362–4).

The demographic picture emerging in the southern LBA skeletal assemblages is in close agreement with their northern counterparts, briefly described above. Recent studies undertaken in human skeletal remains from Thessaly, central Greece and the Peloponnese, that is the tholos tomb at Kazanaki in Magnesia (Papathanasiou 2009), Tragana, Atalanti, Kolàka and Modi in eastern Lokris (Iezzi 2005), Athens (Smith 1998; 1999), Spaliareika (Papathanasiou 2002–5) and Achaea Klauss (Paschalidis and McGeorge 2009), at Achaea, Ayia Sotira, at Nemea, in Corinthia (Smith *et al.* 2013; Triantaphyllou forthcoming a), the Kazarma tholos tomb in the Argolid (Triantaphyllou pers. investigation) and the Pylos tholos and chamber tombs in Messenia (Schepartz *et al.* 2009, table 10.2; 2011; Papathanasiou *et al.* 2012) have revealed that newborn babies tend to be absent from the tholos and the chamber tombs, non-adults over 2 years old, that is infants, children, and adolescents, are significantly under-represented, but

they are not completely missing (for LBA child burials see Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 1994; this study is based strictly on the archaeological evidence). Moreover, all adult age categories are present, although elderly individuals are significantly under-represented. Newborn babies were recognised in a disarticulated state at Tragana and Modi, in eastern Lokris, at Ayia Sotira in Nemea and at the Kazarma tholos tomb. Despite the differential type of information provided by human bone specialists in relation to age, mode of disposal and spatial arrangement of the skeletal remains, it is interesting to note that infants and children between 1 and 12 years old, who were housed in the tholos or chamber tombs, are usually sorted out of scattered remains which were found in bone piles swept aside on the floor of the tomb or in pits dug in the floor of the tomb. At Ayia Sotira in Nemea, in particular, where the final discussion of the human remains took into consideration issues of social construction of ageing, when sex ratios are compared with age groups, it becomes clear that primarily young women below 25 years old were interred in the chamber tombs while men were often over 30. It may not be accidental that the mean age of women at death represented in the Ayia Sotira population corresponds to the period of peak reproductive activity in a woman's life suggesting that they have been considered as particularly valuable members for the community and should therefore afford a burial within these chamber tombs. It is, therefore, very tempting to consider the probability that age was an important criterion for the adult group, and in particular for the prime and mid-adult women over the age of 30, who appear to be significantly under-represented in the Ayia Sotira population (Triantaphyllou forthcoming a).

A similar association of child burials with adult individuals consistently evident in several LBA mortuary assemblages can be also detected from the Late Minoan (LM) III burials at Chania, Armenoi (Hallager and McGeorge 1992) and Mochlos (Triantaphyllou 2011) rock cut chamber tombs on Crete. Contrary to Mochlos where individuals under 12 years old are missing, at Chania and Armenoi, the full range of the subadult age categories has been recognised suggesting that the notable under-representation of infants and children at Mochlos would reflect a deliberate exclusion of these individuals from the cemetery rather than the drastic effect of unfavourable preservation bias.

Towards an integration of the evidence

In terms of direct information on biological age provided from the human skeletal remains, as has been selectively presented above, it becomes clear that there is a growing body of evidence deriving from a broad range of burial assemblages in the prehistoric Aegean. The brief overview of the macro-data in time and space in this paper was undertaken under the risk of masking social expressions of the self at the small scale of the local prehistoric community. Furthermore, as already pointed out at the beginning, boundaries between social identities of age, gender, ethnicity and status should be considered as fluent and changeable over the life course so that the strict investigation of only one aspect of social construction neglecting another is very tentative.

The abundant by now evidence of the physical human remains in the prehistoric Aegean should be considered parallel to the various forms as well as representations of material culture which contributed to the perception of age in the living communities. The overall picture of the Neolithic, particularly from the end of the MN through to the LN, and perhaps of the EBA would be consistent with a subtle involvement of material culture, *e.g.* the manufacture, use and circulation of figurines, to the building up of the social perception of age. Recent work in Neolithic and EBA figurines from the prehistoric Aegean, where decoration and posture have been taken into consideration, suggest a distinct elaboration and care in the expression of the external appearance with a special focus on the representation of gender (Mina 2008, 115). Moreover, the persistent emphasis on sexual and reproductive aspects with regards to the female body, in particular during the Neolithic, but also on the association of female figurines with holding children (*Kourotrophoi*) may indeed underline the element of motherhood and of young femaleness as focal to the construction of age. By the end of the period and with increasing social competition, social norms and values would come to the forefront of the EBA scene. It is interesting that biological attributes appear to be tuned in and to be represented alongside social identities and social properties. This can be supported by the predominance of anatomically *asexual* figurines (in contrast to the preponderance of anatomically *female* figurines of the earlier period), as well as by the emergence of distinct figurine forms which express biographical lived or imagined experiences such as musicians or hunter-warriors (Mina 2008, 123; 2010). By the end of the MBA, but particularly in the LBA, the construction of age in body representation, that is the pictorial art,

figurines, seals and frescoes, can be recognised in a more distinct way in association with elite domestic or ritual contexts, while emphasis was placed on particular stages of childhood, young and mature adulthood (German 2000). It is perhaps of interest to stress here that the physical attributes for age distinction (recognised mainly by secondary sexual characteristics, such as facial hair in elderly men) are closely accorded to clothing or ritual paraphernalia, as well as standardised postures thus attesting to their critical role in special performances (German 2000). References to age groups can be identified, although to a limited degree, in Linear B tablets at Knossos and Pylos with designations such as ke-ro perhaps for elderly man (Aura Jorro 1985, 350), ka-ra-we for elderly women (Aura Jorro 1985, 323–4), while children are recognised more often than their parents and appear usually in personnel records underlining thus that children worked alongside adults (Shelmerdine 2008, 140–1).

The evidence of the human skeletal remains in the prehistoric Aegean would suggest differential treatment in the mode of disposal according to age in Neolithic northern Greece particularly by the end of the period onwards but also in selective caves in southern Greece where immature individuals appear more frequently to have received a formal type of disposal in an articulated form in contrast to the scattered remains of the adults. Spatial segmentation or differential mode of disposal according to age can be assumed for those mortuary assemblages where certain age categories are consistently missing. This tends to be the case by the end of the MBA onwards when neonates and early infants, under 2 years old, are usually absent and non-adults below 18 years old but also elderly individuals over their forties are significantly under-presented. Low visibility of a segment of population in the archaeological record should not be misinterpreted as an indication of them being less important in social life. In contrast, invisible people accommodated in less formal types of disposal may have been just as "important" as the ones who left their mark in the mortuary record. There is now a full set of evidence in items of material culture and body representation which, alongside the increasing data derived from the study of the physical human remains, can shed some new light on the changing way that age was constructed and experienced in the biographies of the living people in the prehistoric communities of the Aegean.

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Part VI

Interaction with the Dead Body

22

Secondary Burials and the Construction of Group Identities in Crete between the Second Half of the 4th and 2nd Millennia BC

Luca Girella and Simona Todaro

Secondary mortuary practices entail the primary inhumation of the individual and the subsequent manipulation of its skeletal remains with actions of disarticulation, collection and relocation of selected bones from one location to another. It is, therefore, not easily identifiable in communal tombs, *i.e*. in those funerary structures that were used for successive multiple burials that required the partial or total relocation of the previous inhumations in order to allow the re-use of the burial ground. It is therefore hardly surprising that secondary mortuary practices have only recently been recognised in the communal tombs of the central and western Mediterranean from the second half of the 4th millennium through the 2nd millennium BC, thanks to the discovery of new necropoleis that were excavated with the assistance of a team of human bone specialists, and also to hi-resolution osteological examinations of previously excavated contexts (*e.g*. Triantaphyllou 2005). This circumstance has led to the identification of taphonomic processes that normally go unnoticed and has shown that some of the manipulations took place regardless of the presence of new interments and thus represented deliberate and pre-planned actions (Todaro and Girella 2013) that, according to the prevalent interpretation, were performed by the living for three main reasons: 1) to allow the individual to acquire the condition or status of the deceased and potentially that of the ancestor; 2) to free the living from a period of mourning and taboo; 3) to help the living to define and construct their social or group identities (Chénier 2009).

Starting from the sociological interpretation proposed by Hertz at the beginning of the last century (Hertz 1907), several anthropologists have noticed that identity and personhood become mutable in secondary mortuary practice and are at the same time linked to life histories (Metcalf and Huntington 1991). Obviously, in archaeology the identification of the various steps and intermediate stages of the ritual through which human groups constructed their social identities is possible only in exceptional circumstances. For example, studies of Near Eastern and Levantine Middle Pre-Pottery Neolithic B mortuary practices, which were based on skull removal, retention and plastering, are paradigmatic and some scholars have recently argued that the timing of these practices might help us in determining the ways in which these communities constructed memory and identity (Kuijt 2008). Indeed, the skulls of the deceased, when first removed from their bodies, were probably associated with specific individuals and households. With the passing of generations, however, the nature of these memories and relations would have changed from experiential and personal to abstract and referential. The facial features of the plastered skulls were all similar because the skull did not have to represent a distinct person but became some sort of heirloom, *i.e*. a material

symbol with which individuals and groups constructed and negotiated identities, histories and memories (Weiner 1992).

Minoan funerary data have been and still are mostly used as a means to define social status, to identify social complexity and to estimate population (Whitelaw 1983; Dabney and Wright 1990; Soles 1992; Girella 2003; 2015; Legarra Herrero 2009; Murphy 2011; Driessen 2012). The nature of the data, which was mostly gathered at the beginning of the last century, but also the dearth of studies on the skeletal remains and the absence of human bone specialists during the discovery and recovery of the human bones, has meant that burial practices were reconstructed on the basis of assumptions. More specifically, the fact that the majority of the skeletons appeared as commingled bones pushed towards the back wall of the structure, while a few preserved anatomical connection, was considered sufficient to surmise that they indeed represented primary inhumations that were, during the long use of the structures, disturbed to make room for new interments. The idea seemed to be confirmed by the progressive addition of external annexes that apparently had the function of containing the remains of the earlier inhumations that had been removed from the main burial ground.

Following the rather isolated position of K. Branigan (1987), who first identified several types of secondary manipulations that could not be explained by the practical need of making space for new burials, recent work has provided the opportunity for a fresh perspective. New anthropological studies on skeletal materials from cemeteries spanning from the Early Minoan (EM) to Middle Minoan (MM) (Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009; Schoep *et al.* 2011; 2013; Triantaphyllou 2005; 2010; 2012; forthcoming; Triantaphyllou *et al.* in press; Crevecoeur *et al.* 2015) have documented various forms of manipulation that had previously escaped identification.

Reconsideration of archaeological data from collective burial buildings (tholos tombs and house tombs) has, on the other hand, allowed J. Driessen (2010a) to suggest that they did not represent the *final resting place* of the deceased, but rather a sort of *temporary repository*, a place of transition that served for the decomposition of the bodies, before specific parts were selected for re-burial elsewhere. As such, the tombs, being used for consecutive *individual* depositions that were followed, at some stage, by the sometimes *collective* selection and re-deposition of certain skeletal elements either in the tomb, or in a nearby structure (Keswani 2004, 51–4), were considered as a form of family chapel, *i.e*. that they were constructed *for a group by a group* and not for an individual. Driessen (2010a; see also Soles 1992, 247), moreover, taking into consideration (a) the low number of skulls found in tombs that were used for hundreds of years, (b) the discovery of special ossuaries and (c) the rare retrieval of skulls and other human bones from domestic contexts, hypothesised a three-stage funerary ritual on the basis of a probable circulation of some bones outside of the funerary contexts.

This paper, building further on this hypothesis, focuses on the circulation of selected bones (mainly skulls and long bones) documented in Crete between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 2nd millennium BC (Fig. 22.1) in the funerary arena (both within the funerary chamber and from funerary chamber to ossuaries), and outside of the funerary arena (from funerary to domestic or ritual contexts and back), and aims to achieve two goals: 1) to stress that funerary practices cannot be fully appreciated by focusing on the evidence provided by the cemeteries alone; 2) to highlight that the active use of human remains, which continued almost unaltered from the Prepalatial to the Neopalatial period, should not be seen necessarily as the expression of the social order of the relevant communities, but can reflect different "biographical contingencies", and can thus be seen as ways through which the community represented the re-appropriation of the human biography of the deceased (Robb 2007, 288).

Skull curation, retention and circulation in pre-palatial and protopalatial cemeteries

The starting point of this study is a Final Neolithic (FN) burial found at Phaistos near room 22 of the Second Palace, which Levi considered to be a primary inhumation that had been arranged almost on the bedrock, but was then disturbed during the later building activity at the site. Recent re-examination of all the available documentation, including Fiandra's unpublished excavation notebooks (Todaro 2012), has, however, clarified that it was in fact a secondary burial because the human remains included the cranium (the skull deprived of the mandible, with a large stone in the mouth), and the long bones, and thus had been clearly relocated from a place of primary deposition to a place of secondary deposition (Fig. 22.2a). Surprisingly, the place of secondary deposition turned out to be a floor that was made out of limestone and red ochre and belonged to a dwelling that delimited the southern side of a large

open-air ceremonial area used for episodes of consumption that were held at a supra-household level, during which red ochre was abundantly used. Moreover, according to Fiandra's notes, red ochre was also attested on the bones and the cranium, which is now kept in the Herakleion Museum (Fiandra 2009).

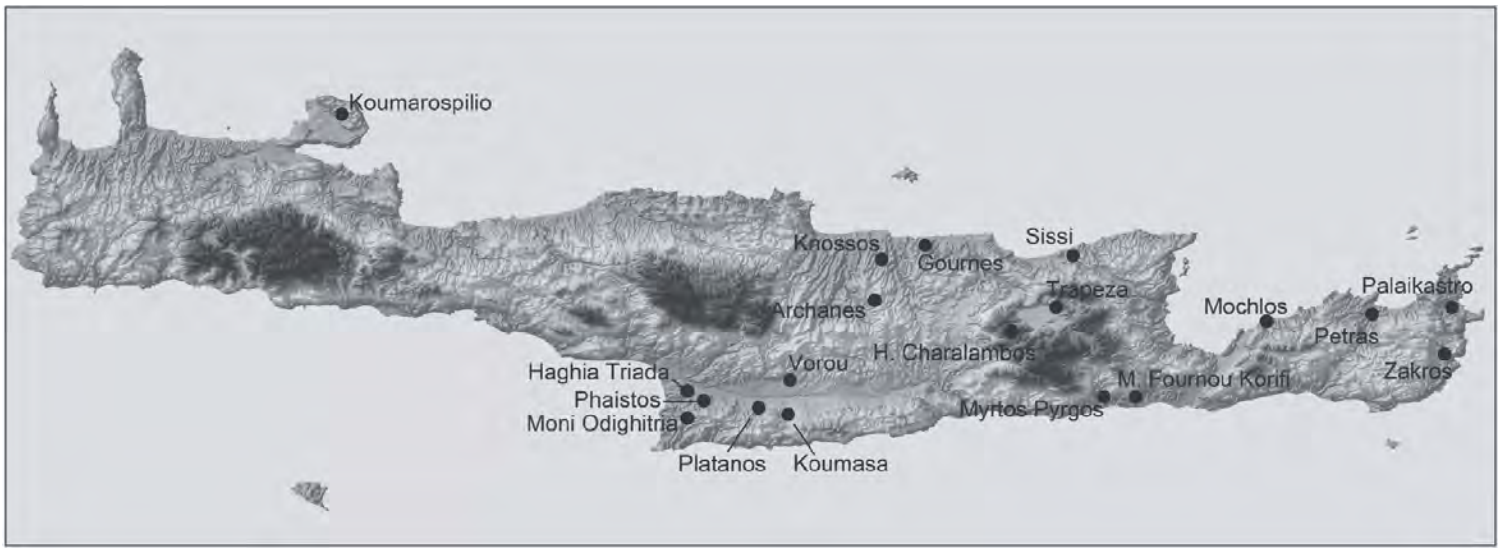

Figure 22.1: Map of Crete with sites mentioned in the text (drawn by L. Girella after aegeobalkanprehistory.net).

The study of the unpublished data from the excavation has clarified that the body of this individual, who is described as a young adult, was subjected to several actions of manipulation that included: (1) the dislocation of the mandible; 2) the placing of a stone in the mouth; 3) the selection and relocation of cranium and long bones within a domestic context; 4) the application of red ochre; 5) the active use of the bones in the course of the supra-household ceremonies performed in the area to the north of the dwelling; 6) the abandonment on the floor as a result of the same event that determined the abandonment of the ceremonial assemblages within the ritual area. However, it cannot be excluded that the bones were in fact meant to be re-buried after their active use, as documented by Near Eastern and Levantine plastered skulls that, after a period of active use and display in domestic and ritual contexts, were eventually re-buried in caches (Kujit 2008; Todaro 2012).

These complex mortuary practices, involving the relocation and special curation of selected bones within a ceremonial context located in the centre of the settlement, are as yet unparalleled in Neolithic Crete, where the presence of human remains within settlements has been reported only at Knossos (Triantaphylou 2008), and at Phaistos itself (Todaro 2012), but only as "stray bones" mixed with animal bones scattered across the site. Practices of bone selection and curation are however documented in Koumarospilio cave, where seven skulls were found grouped together alongside a heap of long bones (Jantzen 1951).

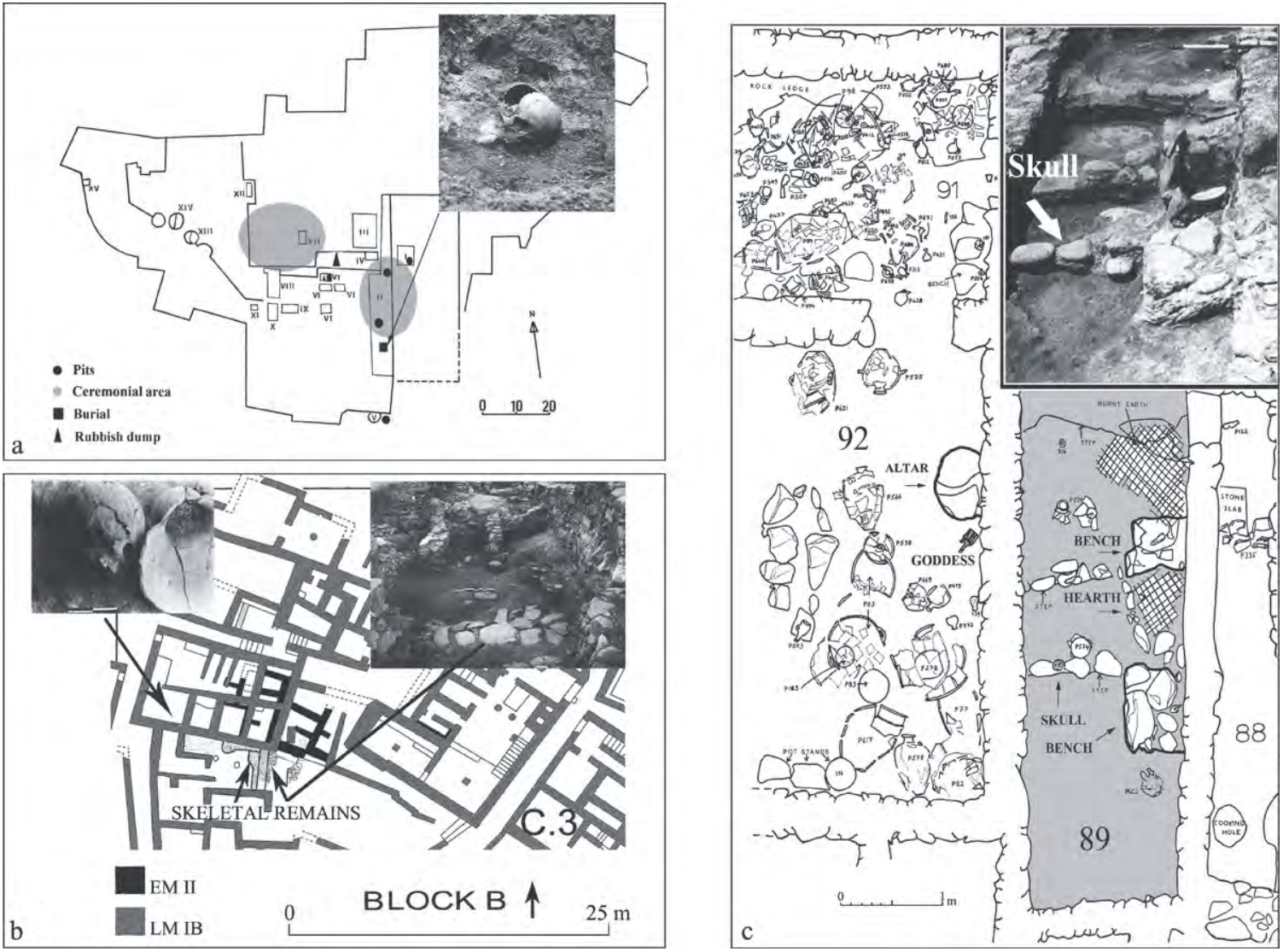

Figure 22.2: a) Phaistos, schematic plan of the Palace hill (elaborated after Vagnetti 1973) with the indication of position of the most relevant finds of Phaistos I (FN III), including the floor with the skull and long bones; b) Mochlos, recomposed plan of Block B with the indication of the human skull in the ceremonial building B.2 and the skeletal remains in the "Theatral Area" at southwest (after Soles and Davaras 1996, pl. 54c; Soles 2010); c) Myrtos Fournou Korifi, recomposed plan of Rooms 89 and 92 with the indication of the skull position and the installation of benches and hearths (after Warren 1972).

Skull curation emerges more distinctively after the construction of the first funerary complexes (Branigan 1987; Soles 1992, 247–51). Groupings of skulls were indeed identified in the EM II at Archanes (three skulls placed in a natural fissure of the bedrock in Tholos Gamma, see Papadatos 2005, 59); at Mochlos (several cases of nests of skulls, see Branigan 1987); also at Koumasa, Platanos and Ayia Triadha A tholos tombs, where groups of skulls are described but not illustrated by the excavators (Branigan 1987, 47–8), and at Myrtos Pyrgos (Cadogan 2011, 107–8, fig. 5.4).

The case of Moni Odighitria is emblematic because the results of the study of the human bones and the differences noted in the representation of body parts between the assemblages from the two tholoi and the assemblages from the ossuary (Triantaphyllou 2010), has on the one hand strengthened J. Driessen's hypothesis that the tholoi were mainly used as temporary repositories for the decomposition of the flesh (2010a). The assemblage of bones from tholos A, retrieved from the tholos itself, showed a very high degree of disarticulation and fragmentation and a slightly deviant body part representation because, although all bone categories occurred, femurs, mandibles and humeri were slightly better represented. In the assemblage from tholos B, instead, which had actually been retrieved from the ossuary, there was a clear prevalence of skulls and long bones (Triantaphyllou 2010). On the other hand, the 43 crania and three skulls retrieved from the ossuary of tholos B have clarified that the mandible was not subjected to selection and curation, but was generally left behind with the unselected bones (Triantaphyllou 2010, 233–4, figs 123–33).

A further proof of this behaviour is provided by practices documented at Archanes, and more specifically in

Burial Building (henceforth BB) 7. Here, one skeleton in contracted position was found to the east of the dromos of tholos B, in the southern part of the room (Sakellarakis 1971, 278). The skeleton was articulated but, while the lower jaw was still in position, the cranium had been detached from the body and was found turned upside down near the legs. Moreover, the placing of one conical cup near the mandible and another one, inverted, above the dislocated cranium, emphasises the apparently crucial role that the dislocation of the cranium had in the funerary rite, and probably represented the beginning of the process of disarticulation that was not fully performed in this case because the burial ground was then sealed (Todaro 2012). The other skeletal material from this building documents the usual practices of disarticulation with relocation of selected parts (generally skulls and long bones) into external annexes or into clay larnakes.

Special treatment of the skull seems to be a common practice at Archanes Phourni where many burial buildings (from MM I to MM II) have been found with bones and mostly skulls packed closely together on the floor (sometimes on top of stone slabs) and inside larnakes, pithoi or jars, as shown by BB 5–9, 18–19 (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 199–211, 215–20, 246–53). Interesting examples of skull retention also occur in BB 19 and Tholos Gamma. In the first case, retained skulls were accompanied by inverted cups (Maggidis 1994, 86–7); in Tholos Gamma one pithos burial (L 12) (Papadatos 2005, 60, fig. 5) originally containing a primary burial of a child, then functioned as an ossuary in the tomb and received 3 more skulls belonging to adult individuals.

Moving to eastern Crete, despite the age of the excavations, specific cases document an intense activity centred on skeletal material. Tomb VI at Palaikastro shows a burial in situ on a pebble floor outside of the funerary chamber; inside only skulls were collected (Dawkins 1903–4, 202). Tomb VII, on the contrary, illustrates only secondary burials represented by skulls and long bones (Bosanquet and Dawkins 1902–3, 350–5). In the same MM I period, the rectangular enclosures A and B at Zakros document a similar way of grouping skulls along the wall of the room (Soles 1992, 198, 200).

Complementary to this evidence for skull retention are the cases of skeletons with missing skulls. At Vorou tholos tomb A an articulated burial was found beneath a large spouted tub in the external room ΔΔ 2. According to the excavator the skeleton was complete except for the skull (Marinatos 1931, 150–1). In house tomb V (Patema) at Palaikastro the excavators reported scattered skeletal remains and one skeleton in situ; this was found in a contracted position but its skull was missing (Bosanquet and Dawkins 1901–2, 354, figs 5–6).

A significant contribution for the comprehension of multi-stage bone manipulation during the Pre-palatial and Protopalatial periods is the house tomb cemetery at Sissi, near Malia, where important data have recently been collected during the first excavation campaign (Schoep 2009; Schoep *et al.* 2011; 2013). Around thirty rectangular burial buildings have been dug, whose depositional activity spans from EM I/IIA to MM IIB; throughout this long period it seems that the buildings were never considered the final place of burial, the skeletons being instead periodically manipulated through actions of selection and relocation of bones. The careful study conducted on the burials, although not yet completed, permits the identification of several possible situations (Table 22.1) in which different degrees of manipulation can be envisaged, from untouched articulated burials to mostly articulated burials with minor interventions (with one clear case of skull retention) to totally disarticulated burials. Interestingly, the study of the bones from the ossuaries has shown that the circulation of bones operated at two levels: within the same tomb or from one tomb to another tomb and/or ossuary. More importantly, the evidence from Sissi is remarkable for three reasons: 1) because these mortuary practices continued virtually uninterrupted from the Prepalatial through to the Protopalatial period; 2) because the presence of human and animal bones together with large numbers of drinking and pouring vessels in buildings and open areas suggests that these actions were undertaken during episodes of communal consumption of food and drink held at a supra-household level; 3) because the presence of single inverted open shapes (Tombs 1.2–1.3, 1–18, 9.2) suggests that the grouping and relocation of selected bones was accompanied by the deposition of ritual offerings.

This kind of ritual offering is not isolated in Crete: at Archanes, aside from the above noted case of BB 7, inverted conical cups have been found in BB 8 (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 209) and BB 19 (Maggidis 1994, 85–7). At Gournes Pediados in the rectangular building known as Tomb A, though largely destroyed, several dozens of scattered burials are reported. Although the original position of each burial was unclear, a small cup is reported to have been placed by each skull (Chazidakis 1915).

Concluding remarks: from cemeteries to settlements and back? Deconstructing and constructing identities

The cases presented in this paper suggest that EM and MM funerary rituals were based on secondary mortuary practices that were undertaken by the living through a multi-stage process of manipulation. This started after the decay of the flesh with the removal of the cranium and the contextual dedication of food offerings, continued with major practices of disarticulation that were performed over time within the funerary area, and ended with the final relocation of long bones and skulls in different contexts (Fig. 22.3). While the first stage survives only when, for some reason, the rite was not fully performed (such as at Archanes BB7), the second stage has so far been clearly identified only in a few contexts investigated with methodologies of recovery and documentation of the skeletal remains that, paying the utmost attention to taphonomy, clarified that the disarticulation of the skeletons took place over a long period of time, and was accompanied by ceremonies that involved the participation of large sections of the community. The last stage of the funerary ritual is obviously the best represented and involved the collection of skulls (more frequently crania) and long bones, and their relocation either in ossuaries located within the funerary area, as those excavated at Myrtos Pyrgos for the EM period, and Sissi, Archanes Phourni for the MM period, or in special ossuaries located outside of the funerary area.

Table 22.1: Suggested degrees of human bones manipulations at Sissi cemetery (after Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009; Schoep et al. 2011; 2013).

Tomb	*Taphonomy*	*Main features*
1.6, 1.28	Single articulated burial	No subsequent manipulations
1.7 (upper layer)	One articulated burial + ?	One primary burial disturbed, and only disarticulated bones
1.2	One articulated burial + ?	One primary burial undisturbed, and other primary burials disturbed. *Inverted vessels*
1.18	Two articulated burials	In pithoi. *Inverted vessels* Post-burial extensive dump of pottery, stone vases, obsidian blades, and bones.
1.7 (lower layer), 1.8	Two articulated burials + 1	Two articulated burials and a third very disturbed
1.12, 1.17 (N. half: Pithos burial)	Multiple primary burials	Burials on the bedrock and inside tripod jars (1.12). Minor interventions of manipulation regarding the position of the skull
1.29 (Pithos 2), 1.13, 1.17 (N & S half)	Multiple primary burials	Minor interventions of manipulation regarding the position of skeletonised parts
1.17 (N. half); 1.29 (Pithos 4)	Multiple primary burials	Minor interventions of manipulation regarding the removal of skeletonised parts
1.29 (Pithos 3)	Multiple primary burials	Minor interventions of manipulation regarding the removal of skull
1.11	Multiple primary burials	Burials on the bedrock and inside tripod jars. One individual missing the skull
1.13	Multiple secondary burials	Mixed disarticulated burials, without grave offerings
1.30 (upper level) -1.31	Multiple secondary burials	Disarticulated burials mixed with drinking and pouring vessels, and animal bones. Burnt human bones
1.1	Multiple secondary burials	Disarticulated burials mixed with large amount drinking and pouring vessels. No animal bones
9.1, 9.2, 9,4?	Multiple burials	Few articulated and several disarticulated and/or commingled bones. *Inverted vessels* (9.2)
1.15	Loose bones (open spaces?)	Table ware, few human and animal bones
1.16, 1.30 (lower level)	No human bones (open space?)	Table ware, animal bones and obsidian blades
1.3, 9.3	No human bones	Table ware. *Inverted vessels* (1.3, 9.3)
1.10	Ossuary	Not structured, but episodes of deposition marked by pebble layers
1.9	Ossuary	Structured, bones carefully arranged on the bedrock

The case of Haghios Charalambos is paradigmatic because the cave was never used for primary burials, but contained numerous human skulls and several long bones that were either disarticulated or carefully placed in a

lattice arrangement (Betancourt *et al.* 2008, fig. 5). In both cases the bones, which belonged to over 1000 individuals, were accompanied by entire or broken vases as well as by bronzes, figurines, and seals which allowed the last use of the cave to be dated to MM IIB. A similar use as an ossuary could be proposed for the Trapeza cave in MM II (Pendlebury *et al.* 1935–6; Betancourt *et al.* 2008, 594). Moreover, the ongoing study of the Kephala Petras rock shelter (Triantaphyllou 2012) is offering new insights into the manipulation of skeletal material for the EM I and MM IB–IIA periods, and more information will also come from the ongoing study of the nearby MM house tombs cemetery (Triantaphyllou *et al.* forthcoming).

The discovery of these special ossuaries located outside of the funerary area on the one hand explains the low number of skulls recorded in those few cases for which it has been possible to establish a minimum number of burials. On the other, it opens up the possibility that the human remains that were sporadically found in domestic contexts, but are clearly not interpretable as part of intramural burials (McGeorge 2003), had been deliberately re-introduced there so as to be actively used by the living before being definitively re-buried.

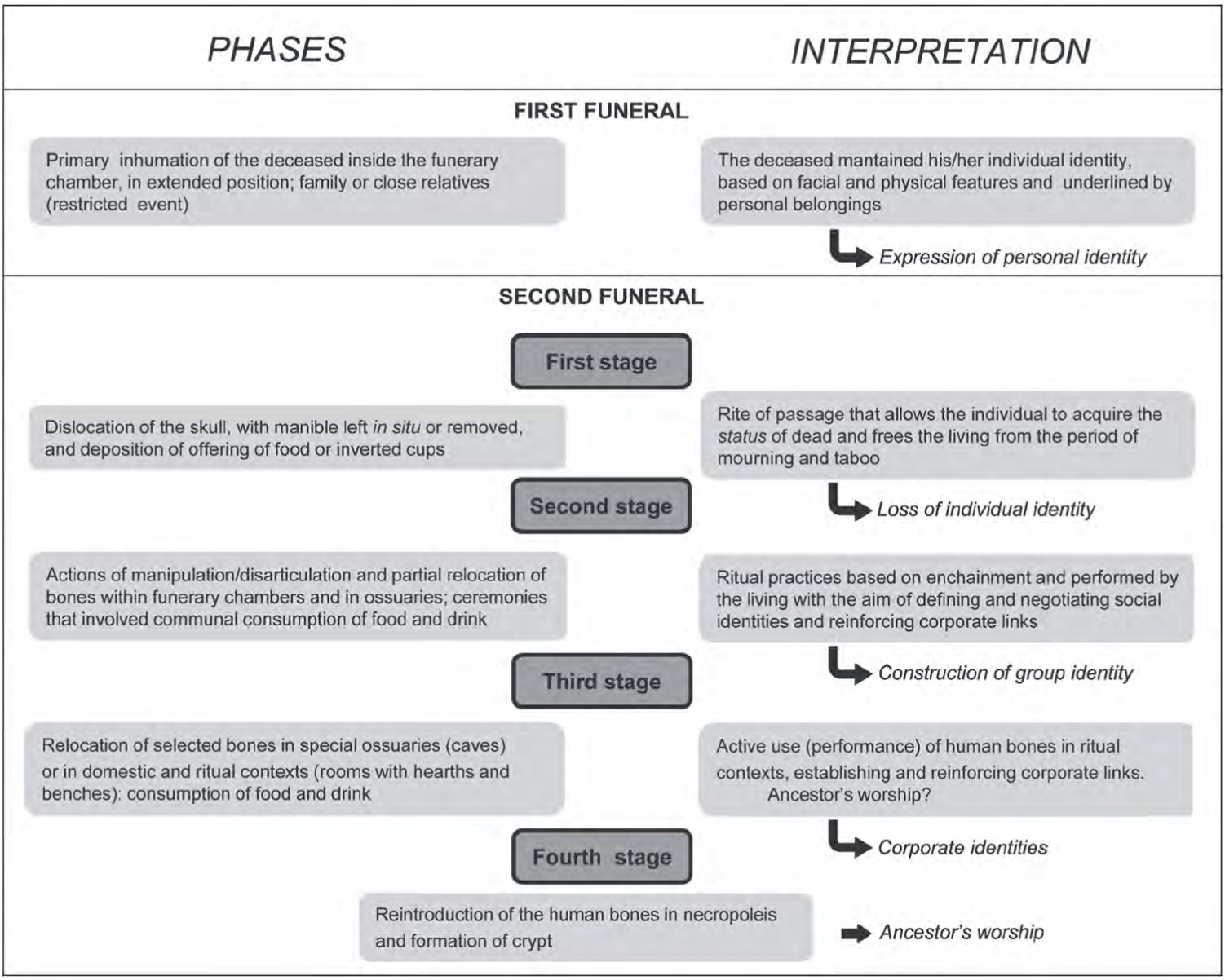
PHASES
INTERPRETATION
FIRST FUNERAL
Primary inhumation of the deceased inside the funerary chamber, in extended position; family or close relatives (restricted event)
The deceased mantained his/her individual identity, based on facial and physical features and underlined by personal belongings
Expression of personal identity
SECOND FUNERAL
First stage
Dislocation of the skull, with manible left *in situ* or removed, and deposition of offering of food or inverted cups
Rite of passage that allows the individual to acquire the *status* of dead and frees the living from the period of mourning and taboo
Second stage
Loss of individual identity
Actions of manipulation/disarticulation and partial relocation of bones within funerary chambers and in ossuaries; ceremonies that involved communal consumption of food and drink
Ritual practices based on enchainment and performed by the living with the aim of defining and negotiating social identities and reinforcing corporate links
Third stage
Construction of group identity
Relocation of selected bones in special ossuaries (caves) or in domestic and ritual contexts (rooms with hearths and benches): consumption of food and drink
Active use (performance) of human bones in ritual contexts, establishing and reinforcing corporate links. Ancestor's worship?
Fourth stage
Corporate identities
Reintroduction of the human bones in necropoleis and formation of crypt
Ancestor's worship

Figure 22.3: Secondary burial practices in Pre and Protopalatial Crete: phases, archeological indicators and possible interpretations (drawn by S. Todaro and L. Girella).

Indeed, the skull and long bones found at FN Phaistos on the floor of a dwelling that was probably in disuse, *strictu sensu* do not represent a burial because they entered the archaeological record while they were in the process of being manipulated (painted with red ochre) or while they were in the process of being used and displayed in the course of a ceremony that was held at a supra-household or communal level (Todaro 2012). A slightly different case

might have been represented by the cranium that was found at Myrtos in room 89 (Warren 1972, 83, 342) (Fig. 22.2c): the connection with the goddess of Myrtos proposed by Driessen (2010a), however, suggests that the cranium was reintroduced to the settlement together with a vase that was generally dedicated in a funerary context, so as to be actively used in rituals that due to the public function of the building might have involved the entire community or large sections of it.

Similar cases of the reintroduction of skulls (more rarely with long bones) within settlements continued in the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods (Driessen 2010b, 47), culminating in the case documented in the Late Minoan (LM) IB period at Mochlos Mansion B2 (Soles 2010) (Fig. 22.2b). There, two skeletons were found on a bench located close to a cooking installation in a room that was apparently used for ceremonial purposes and feasting, and was located near a room where a skull had apparently received some form of "veneration" (Soles 2010, 331–2, fig. 33.1). Since the human bones did not show signs of butchery nor had they been cooked, Soles hypothesised that the skeletons were brought out of the tombs to participate in the feasting related to the human skull "venerated" nearby (Soles 2010, 333).

The association between human remains and ceremonial contexts involving the consumption of food and drink very closely recalls the human remains that were found at FN Phaistos and suggests that the skeletons were reintroduced in a domestic context in order to be actively used in ceremonies that involved the communal consumption of food.

This hypothesis raises a series of strictly interrelated questions: 1) why were human remains only sporadically re-introduced in domestic contexts? 2) were they meant to be eventually re-buried? 3) how can we explain the long term persistence (FN through LM IB) of the few cases documented?

The first two questions represent two faces of the same coin, in as much as the sporadic presence of human remains in domestic contexts could depend on the fact that they were eventually re-buried, either in ossuaries within necropoleis or in special ossuaries such as caves. In this sense, the evidence provided by the EM II ossuary of Myrtos Pyrgos (Cadogan 2011) or the LM IB crypt at Archanes (Sakellarakis and Sakellaraki 1997, 174, figs 126–7), or by the pit that was excavated in Tomb I at Gournia so as to collect skulls and offerings buried in Tomb III, which was built some 400 years earlier (Soles 1992, 9, 31), could have been conceptually similar to the caches of modified and unmodified skulls that, in Near Eastern and Levantine contexts, were re-buried after having been "actively used" for the construction of social memory and corporate identities (Kuijt 2008). In other words, although it cannot be excluded that earlier skulls were collected and re-buried and received forms of veneration because they were considered to belong to the ancestors or to the settlement founders, in the light of the circulation of this skeletal material (both within the cemeteries and outside of them in settlements and caves) the supposed crypts could more simply represent the end of the cycle of use of the human remains that began in the funerary area, continued in domestic contexts, and ended with their return into the funerary area.

The long term persistence of this "active use" of human remains in the ritual life of Minoan communities,[1] performed independently from the type of tomb used, is certainly the most intriguing and difficult aspect to explain and indeed the similarities might mask important differences. It has been extensively argued that the manipulation of human remains, aside from representing a rite of passage that allowed the deceased to leave the community of the living and enter the community of the dead, seemingly played a crucial role in the definition and negotiation of social identities and the reinforcement of corporate links. Following this view, the active use of selected parts of the dead body is not necessarily an expression of the social and political order of the related communities, but can reflect different "biographical contingencies" (Robb 2007). According to Robb, death, being part of a "human biography", is a stage of "active memory", whereby manipulation of the bones of the deceased is a way through which the community represents the re-appropriation of the human biography of the dead (Robb 2007, 288, 292). In discussing *House* societies as a palimpsest of places Jan Driessen (2012, 367) argued that both tombs and residential structures might be considered "to function as living bodies"; even if modified, both types of structure guarantee a sense of stability when continuously occupied. We believe that a specific interface between the two realms (*e.g.* the retention of the skull in domestic structures) was the materialisation through which the community used the past to construct and negotiate their identities in the present and to maintain them into the future.

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Note

1 Secondary mortuary practices continues well into the Neopalatial period as demonstrated by the situations recorded in the north at Knossos Gypsades/Tomb XVII (Hood *et al.* 1958–9, 220, figs 21–2, pl. 53a–b) and Ailias/Tomb VII (Hood 2010, fig. 16.2a) where disarticulated parts of skeletons were organised in separated parts within the same tomb; similarly, in the south evidence for bones and skulls retention is documented also at Kamilari tholos tomb A (Levi 1961–2, fig. 97; Girella 2011, 133).

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23

Bodies in a Pickle: Burial Jars, Individualism and Group Identities in Middle Minoan Crete

Borja Legarra Herrero

Gustave Glotz suggested back in the 1920s that the appearance of burial containers in Middle Bronze Age (MBA) I (Middle Minoan or MM I) Crete signalled the break-down of large social groups in Minoan society into smaller families (Glotz 1925, 138). He never really qualified this statement and probably never realised that it would become a pillar for our understanding of change in the period.

The idea proved instantly popular (Wiesner 1938, 181–2) and was taken up in the 1960s as part of the new milieu of socio-political approaches to the study of state formation (Pini 1968, 34; Rutkowski 1968, 222; Branigan 1970b, 127, 131). It was at this time that first mention was made of "individual" identities related to pithoi (Branigan 1970a, 177). Such an idea was a good fit for the neo-evolutionary approaches to the study of state formation on Crete since a change from large tribal groups to more "modern" social and political structures based on the nuclear family and individualism was seen as a logical step. An emphasis on individual identities meant more complex social relationships that allowed for the development of more elaborated socio-political structures.

Despite critiques in the 1980s (Walberg 1987), the idea has continued to be central to our explanations of change at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (Maggidis 1998; Watrous *et al.* 2004, 259; Manning 2008; Tsipopoulou 2008, 2012), perhaps because it parallels modern paradigms of individualism as a force of social change in Western civilisation (Legarra Herrero 2013).

This narrowing of the human experience into a very particular path that requires new individual identities in order to cross certain milestones in socio-political organisation (Parkinson and Galaty 2007) is theoretically highly problematic. It implies a very simplistic relationship between social identities, political organisation and the use of the body as a conveyor of meaning. This chain of relationships is far from unilinear (Borić and Robb 2008); a good example is the critique of the concept of individualism as a valid identity for the study of other cultures (Strathern 1988). The modern Western worldview that the individual is a basic and self-evident identity attached to the body does not necessarily reflect the rich conceptualisation of meanings that the body may convey in other societies (Harris and Robb 2012; 2013). It also presents problems by simplifying the role of the body in shaping cultural identities. Each body conveys alternative conceptualisations, sometimes seemingly incompatible, at the same time. A shaman embodies the world through both the nature of an animal and a human (Harris and Robb 2012, 670). Each of these conceptualisations, together with the identities and worldviews attached to them, would become preponderant depending on the social and cultural circumstances. In the particular case of the funerary domain,

beliefs may become more prominent in the definition of the (dead) body (Rebay-Salisbury 2012), but the corpse also conveys biographical information about a particular person with a particular story in a particular setting (Robb 2002). So it is not only problematic (i) to attach modern values to past bodies, but it is also problematic (ii) to think that just one identity defines the interment of the body, and (iii) that the main identities displayed in the dead body are broadly correspondent with those that the same body would display in other social contexts.

Careful investigation of the evidence is thus required in order to tease out the identities that define particular funerary customs and how they may be related to other types of identities that are more prevalent in other cultural circumstances. Or rather, to define how funerary customs are used to recreate, modify, highlight and erase some particular identities.

Nowhere is such an investigation more pertinent than in MBA I Crete (or the Middle Minoan I, or MM I). The appearance of palaces, the re-definition of burial customs, the appearance of peak sanctuaries, and a whole new package of other changes indicate a major break in the way Cretan societies were organised and in the identities they used in their inter-relations (Relaki 2004). The first use of jars and ceramic coffins (pithoi and larnakes) to bury adults at a time of such profound change cannot be considered mere coincidence. The question is, however, what new identities these burial containers may have conveyed.

Pithoi and Larnakes: where and when

It has generally been accepted that pithoi and larnakes appeared in the burial record in Early Minoan (EM) III/Middle Minoan (MM) I (Rutkowski 1968; Petit 1990; Vavouranakis 2014). Xanthoudides (1918) reported larnakes from the Pyrgos cave (Fig. 23.1 for sites mentioned in the text), from which only Early Bronze Age I (Early Minoan or EM I) material was published, but his description of the context resembles the stratigraphy of the well-excavated Tholos Gamma at Archanes-Phourni (Papadatos 2005), where larnax burials were cut into an earlier EM II stratum. Given that EM III–MM I larnakes tend to contain very little material, it is quite possible that the published ceramic material from the cave does not correspond to the use of the larnakes.

New data are helping to contextualise the EM III–MM I appearance of burial containers in relation to earlier mortuary customs on the island, showing that the use of burial jars was not conceptually new on Crete. A child jar burial reported from Nopegeia in western Crete may date to the EM IIB period (Karantzali 1992–3). This burial may indicate a mainland influence on funerary customs in the area (Cavanagh and Mee 1998), but new excavations at Sissi are revealing a local Cretan tradition that it may relate to (Crevecoeur and Schmitt 2009; Schoep 2009). At Sissi, infant remains have been found in EM IIA cooking pots deposited in built tombs. This evidence was only recovered due to the careful excavation of usually overlooked coarse wares and the identification of the human remains found within them by on-site physical anthropologists. It raises the possibility that child burials in containers were a common feature of the burial record on Crete by the EM II period, one that has gone unnoticed to date and that may be an antecedent for the appearance of pithoi and larnakes in the subsequent period (Hall 1912, 71). This possibility is underlined by reports from Pacheia Ammos showing that the earliest jar burials, dating to the EM III period, were of infants (Seager 1916, 9) and from Krasi, where two EMIII/MM I pithos burials outside the tholos tombs contained remains of infants (Marinatos 1929; Galli, pers. comm.)

Such long familiarity may explain why pithos and larnax burials seem to appear in such a developed and confident manner. The new use of containers seems quite organised, with pithoi and larnakes appearing in rather regular patterns. Despite this assured deployment, jar burials did not seem to modify the communal character of burials on Crete that had lasted tenaciously for nearly a millennium. Cretan populations made the conscious choice at the end of the Prepalatial period of adopting burial containers, but the explanation of such innovation resides in the modification of existing communal conceptions of death, not in their substitution. The new mortuary patterns in burial container use can be divided into two broad categories based on their locations inside and outside tombs. This constitutes an important distinction that needs to be considered in more detail.

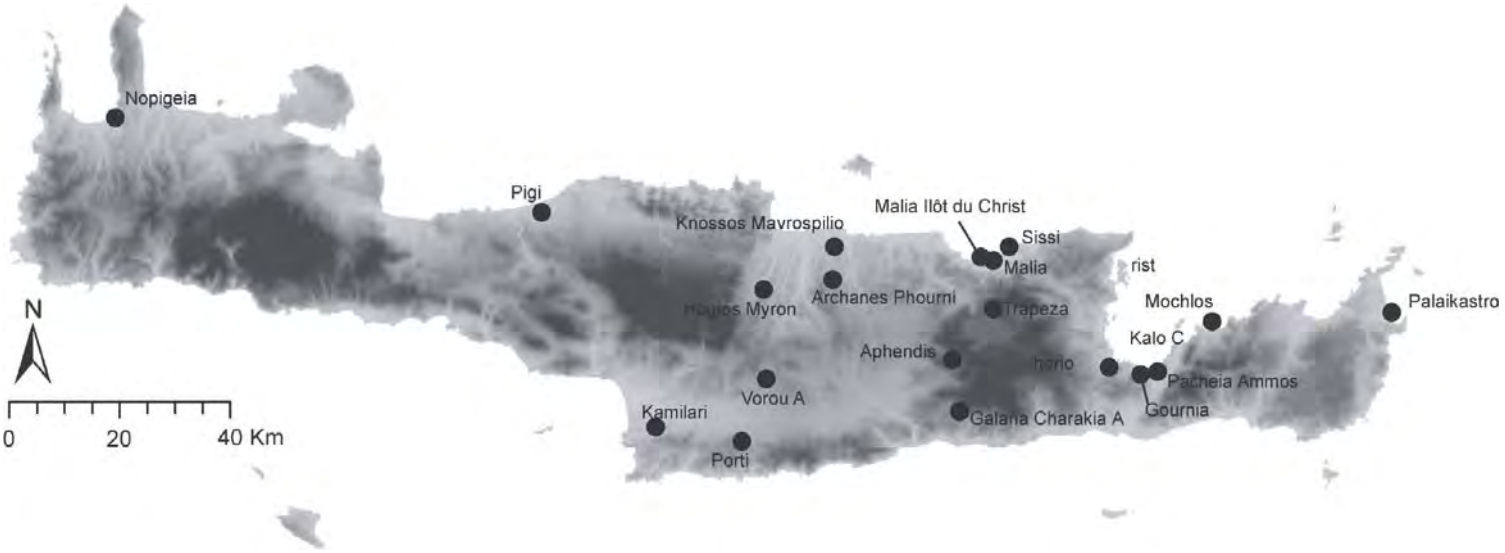


Figure 23.1: Sites mentioned in the text (mapped by the author).

Burial containers inside tombs

Pithoi and larnakes have been mentioned in the reports of many communal tombs, but few come from well-understood contexts (Fig. 23.2; see also Petit 1990 and Vavouranakis 2014 for a catalogue of tombs with pithoi and larnakes). There seems to be a preference for the use of larnakes over pithoi inside communal tombs (Fig. 23.3). The evidence from the best-published tombs shows that containers inside tombs seem to have been constantly re-used, with bodies laid inside them and then cleared out or pushed aside to make room for new interments (Haggis 1996; Panagiotopoulos 2002).

The larnakes may have modified the way bones were manipulated and cleared out in collective tombs, but they did not change the underlying fact that for over a millennium bodies became part of the collective tombs through secondary deposition processes (Branigan 1987; Vasilakis and Branigan 2010; Triantaphyllou 2012). Rather than signifying a break from long-established funerary traditions, the appearance of burial containers inside tombs seems to have served to facilitate such manipulation and clearances (Petit 1990, 41, 47; Papadatos 2005; Vavouranakis 2014). The preference for larnakes with lids, which are easier to access than pithoi, may support this practical interpretation. Currently, there is little evidence to support the suggestion that these new containers constituted a fragmentation of the communal identities that the built tombs represented (Branigan 1970a, 177; Tsipopoulou 2008).

Burial containers outdoors

Pithoi were the clear preference for burial containers outside tombs (Fig. 23.3), although these may not constitute a homogeneous category for consideration (Fig. 23.4). Burial pithoi outside tombs seemingly appeared in different forms (Maggidis 1998, 99): outside communal tombs, clustered in pithos cemeteries, and as single examples reported without further context, although it is likely that some of these categories are a consequence of differential archaeological recovery rather than variability in prehistoric mortuary behaviour.

Pithoi outside communal tombs

Pithos burials have been reported outside several communal tombs (Fig. 23.4), such as the tholos at Porti (Xanthoudides 1924, 55), the cave at Trapeza (Pendlebury *et al.* 1939), and the MM I–II chamber tombs at Mavrospilio, Knossos (Hood and Smyth 1981, nos 249 and 250), although they seem to be missing from many relatively well-known cemeteries. They seem to appear in the MM I period in reduced numbers, and go out of use as the communal tomb is abandoned. There is not a single extensively-excavated example that allows for a better understanding of burial numbers and the composition of the assemblages.

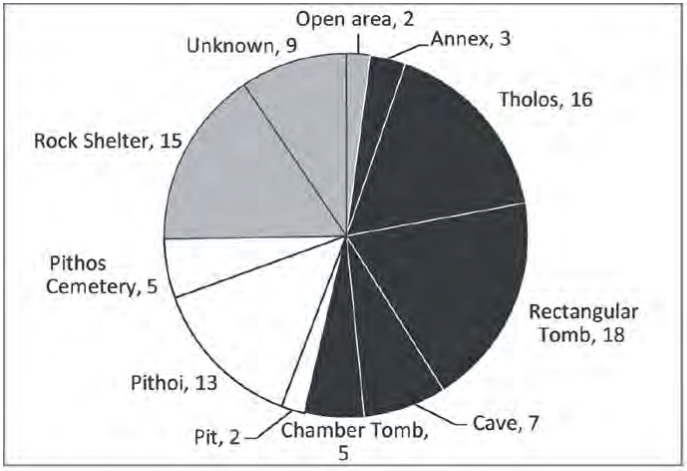
Pithos cemeteries

In a few instances, the number of pithoi deposited is quite high, and the containers are not directly related to a built tomb. At Gournia Sphoungaras, 150 jars and one larnax were found, although the majority of burials seem to date to the MM III and Late Minoan (LM) I (Hall 1912). At Pacheia Ammos, a similar MM I–LM I cemetery was discovered with 213 pithoi and six larnakes (Seager 1916). At Malia, Ilôt du Christ, only five pithoi were reported but many more were found (van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1963, 103–13; Olivier *et al.* 1970). At Pigi, more than 50 MM I pithoi have recently been excavated (Whitley *et al.* 2007, 113–4).

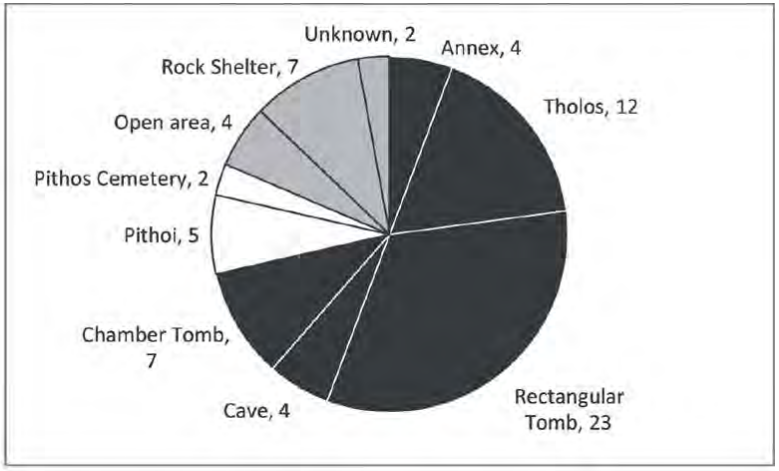
Figure 23.2: Pithoi and larnakes in the burial record of Middle Minoan I Crete (mapped by the author).

The relationship pithos cemeteries had with main settlements and built cemeteries is difficult to establish given the small number of them known. At Malia, Ilôt du Christ is far enough from the known palatial settlement to create doubts about whether they were connected. At Gournia, the case of Sphoungaras being attached to the nearby settlement is stronger, particularly given the significant size of the town in the protopalatial period (Soles 1979). However, here its relationship with the built cemetery just north of the settlement is unclear. Tomb I in the North Cemetery saw significant deposition of material in the MM II period, a moment in which the cemetery of Sphoungaras seemingly starts to become more popular (Soles 1992, 9). By the MM III, burials are only reported at Sphoungaras. At nearby Mochlos in the MM III, pithoi were placed in the earlier abandoned tombs (Seager 1912, 14).

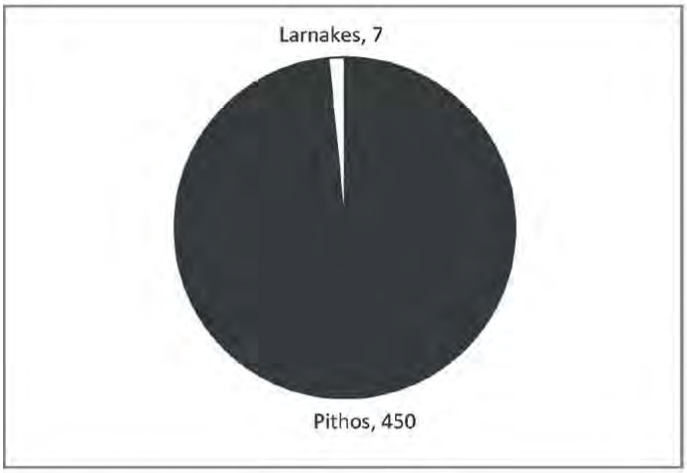
Apart from their heterogeneous nature, these cemeteries present a problem of chronology (see exhaustive chronological discussion in Vavouranakis 2014). None have been extensively published, and in the best-known cases at Sphoungaras and Pacheia Ammos, the excavators make clear that only very few MM I pithoi were found (Hall 1912; Seager 1916). Subsequent dating of some of these pithoi indicates that some of the MM I examples may need to be re-dated to the MM II and MM III periods (Vavouranakis 2014; Christakis, pers. comm.). Given the long-lasting nature of the sturdy pithos and the ritual character of burials, it is also possible that old pithoi were targeted for burials in the later MM and LM periods, making it difficult to date the appearance of pithos cemeteries. This may be the case at Malia Ilôt du Christ: while its pithoi may date to the MM I, the material found with them is MM II (Poursat 1988; Petit 1990). Of these cemeteries, only Galana Charakia (Christakis 2005, 75) and Pigi can be securely dated to the MM I, as the preliminary dating seems to be based on a modern knowledge of the ceramics of the period (Whitley *et al.* 2007, 113–4). Sphoungaras and Pacheia Ammos may be better understood as largely MM III–LM I cemeteries.



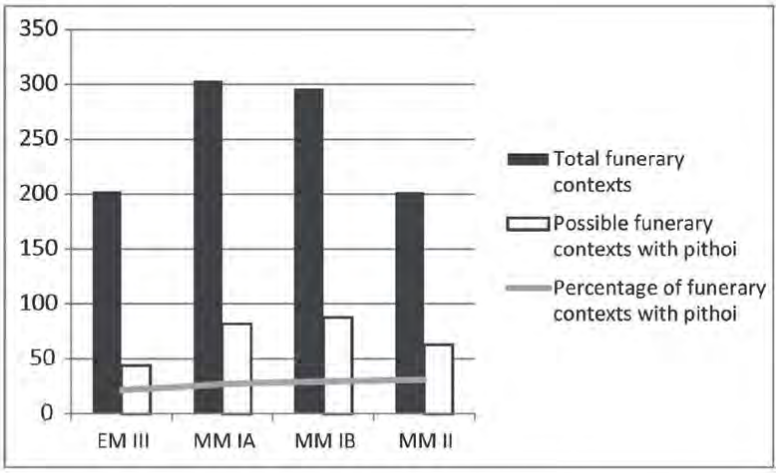
a. Pithoi in mortuary contexts:
black: inside; white: outside; grey: unclear



b. Larnakes in mortuary contexts:
black: inside; white: outside; grey: unclear



c. Pithoi and larnakes in pithos cemeteries



d. Number of total funerary contexts versus the number of funerary contexts with burial containers by period.

Figure 23.3: a) Pithoi in mortuary contexts: black: inside tombs; white: outside tombs; grey: unclear; b) Larnakes in mortuary contexts: shading as above; c) Pithoi and larnakes as reported in pithos cemeteries: Pacheia Ammos, Sphoungaras, Pigi and Galana Charakia; d) number of total funerary contexts versus the number of funerary contexts with burial containers by period (all figures by the author).

There is also a particularity that connects all these cemeteries (with the exception of Galana Charakia): they are located very close to the sea (Vavouranakis 2007) in locations that could be considered liminal. The little island of Ilôt du Christ is a clear example, but the location of Pacheia Ammos on the beach and the distance between Sphoungaras and the North Cemetery at Gournia may also indicate the significance of the placement of these groups of pithoi in specific locations apart from the main cemetery and settlement. This factor seems to override possible chronological differences between pithos cemeteries.

Pithoi lost in the landscape

Finally, in several instances single pithos burials have been randomly reported without any reference to larger cemeteries, such as at Agios Myron and Aphendis-Kaminaki (Alexiou 1967, 486; Iliopoulos 1996).

Pithos burials are difficult to find in the archaeological record and in general are particularly affected by agricultural activity given their placement close to the surface (Xanthoudides 1924, 56). The truth is that we do not know whether single pithoi discovered in the landscape simply form part of larger unidentified pithos cemeteries or built cemeteries, or whether they constitute a category of their own.

Funerary behaviour relating to outdoor pithoi

There is, however, one feature shared by these three categories that set outdoor pithos burials apart from burial containers placed inside tombs: they were used for single individuals, and there are no traces of later disturbance. The primary interment never underwent secondary manipulation, as is the norm in the built tombs. Sometimes, pithos burials were disturbed by the later burial of another pithos, but this seems to be related to the fact that the location of pithos burials were not marked on the ground (Seager 1916, 11). Another exclusive characteristic of outdoor interments, be they pithoi or larnakes, is that pithoi were placed upside-down (Seager 1916), or on their side, with the head towards the bottom of the pithos. This is never the case in containers placed within tombs. This characteristic also helps us to better understand certain less clear instances. For example, the pithos at Vorou was placed upright in the annex next to the tomb and may, therefore, be considered an "indoor" container (Marinatos 1931). At Malia's *Maison des Morts* the opposite may well be the case, as the pithoi were found placed upside down (van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1963).

Containers and cemeteries

Pithos burials appear in the record in a variety of forms, and do not correspond to a singular funerary logic. It is even possible that we have collapsed customs from several periods into a single practice with an alleged EM III–MM IA start that may evolve in the MM II and MM III periods in something quite different. It is not surprising then that traditional interpretations are being contradicted when a more detailed view of the containers is contextualised within the mortuary record of MM I Crete (Vavouranakis 2014).

A cursory overview of the MM I and MM II mortuary record shows that pithos burials do not replace built communal tombs (Fig. 23.3d). The relationship between built tombs and burial containers is much more complex than is normally assumed. Although widespread across the burial record, pithos burials do not seem to infiltrate the whole repertoire of Cretan funerary practices in this period (Fig. 23.4). Other innovations, such as the construction of gathering and performance spaces attached to the tombs, are found in almost every single MM I cemetery. Whatever the reasoning behind the new pithos burials, it does not seem to have been so fundamental as to override local decisions. When considering the sites that decided to use pithoi and larnakes, no clear pattern emerges, neither regionally, nor in terms of cemetery size and importance (Fig. 23.4). In only a very few cases do containers become a significant part of the cemetery before the MM III period; only at Archanes-Phourni and Pyrgos do tombs seem to include a significant number of burial containers in the MM I, and it is as yet unclear whether there were significant MM I pithos cemeteries on the island.

Containers seem to have constituted a secondary category in the mortuary record. Inside the rooms, the patterns of bone deposition inside them point to a practical rationale although this does not mean that there were not associated ideological or social meanings to this practice. Outdoor containers may be considered ancillary for several reasons. Firstly, even by MM I standards, they have only a small amount of material attached to them (Walberg 1987). Secondly, their secondary position surrounding communal tombs is paralleled by other types of subsidiary interments in cemeteries, such as the Charniers at Malia (Demargne 1945). Thirdly, even the larger pithos cemeteries can only account for a small portion of the deceased of a community. Fourthly, some of their traits may be considered anomalous, such as their links with infant burials in the first examples of use (infant burials are a very special type of burial in many cultures, as infants often do not represent full members of a community), and their placement upside down. The segregated locations of pithos cemeteries may also indicate a particular, perhaps negative, perception of the people interred within them.

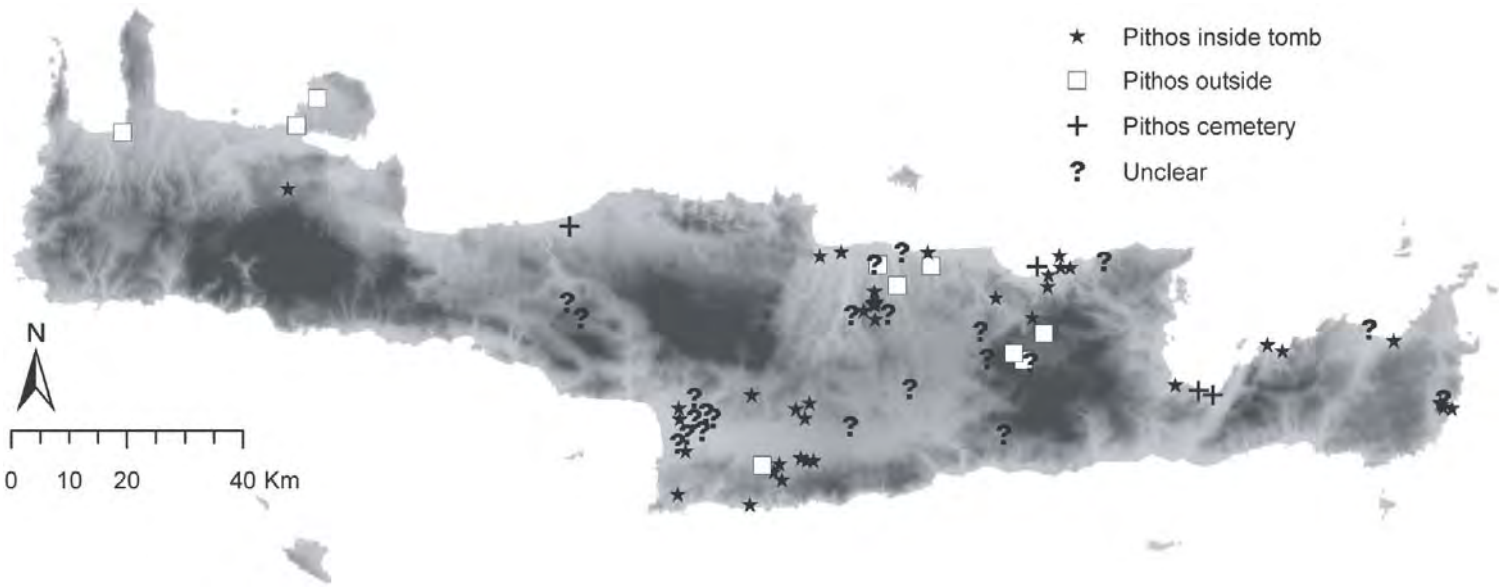


Figure 23.4: Distribution of burial containers in Middle Minoan I by context (mapped by the author).

Pithoi, burials and identities in MM I Crete

Cemeteries in MM I Crete saw major changes, all of which may be interpreted as signalling the construction of new identities through funerary behaviour. Elsewhere, I have presented the case for interpreting these changes as part of an effort to reinforce a new settlement identity (Legarra Herrero 2011). Larger cemeteries in which group ritual became an even more important event may constitute an effort to mobilise a broader population under a new sense of identity. Peak sanctuaries and courtyards in the palaces may present other arenas in which similar negotiations of identity may have taken place in MM I. Such identities may have been crucial for the negotiation of a new arena of regional competition (Relaki 2004; 2011; Sbonias 2011). As part of these changes other identities may have taken on more significance, such as those reinforcing settlement identity over kinship links or those related to new forms of political and economic organization, such as land ownership (see also the concept of "house societies" as presented in Driessen 2010; 2011).

While the data from the cemeteries agree in general with this broad picture, the detailed review of the evidence from the jar burials reveals the variability of practices. In places like Porti, pithos burials were close to the communal tombs, and they seem to go out of use as the main cemetery did. In some cemeteries there is no evidence at all of the use of extramural jars. The case of Sphoungaras and Pacheia Ammos is different again and here communal tombs fell out of use but the pithos burials are still used into the LM I period. Do these sites represent the only surviving examples of a badly-preserved MM III–LM I burial record in which individual pithoi replaced communal tombs?

Despite the fact that jar burials may indicate a re-negotiation of social identities (Vavouranakis 2014), the nature of these identities is difficult to grasp in each case. It may seem that jars inside the tombs may have been mainly (but not only) related to practicalities in the manipulation of human remains typical from communal graves on Crete and they did not break down the collective nature of the tombs.

Burial jars outside cemeteries seem to convey more difficult to interpret meanings particularly as the way pithos burials were dealt with depended on each community, probably as a result of differences in the way each community coped with the identity changes that burial jars represented. This is not surprising; the main idea that the concept of embodied identities brings to the table is the complex reality that marks the social experience of the body. Several notions of the body can be applied at the same time referring to several different identities leading to much room for variability of practices.

It is still intriguing why in MM I, for the first time in a millennium, Cretan societies decided to inter bodies alone, and why they did it in a custom that treats the body in such a different manner. The interment entails planning and work as it requires the body to be tightly tied to fit the container; but this heavy manipulation seems to be very different to the procedures that bodies underwent in the communal tombs (Triantaphyllou in press). Even more tantalising is that the custom may had started as a solution for the burial of a small number of infants and evolved to

include certain categories of adults. The way identity, burial rite and body were connected in the pithos burials was fundamentally different to the rest of the tombs (Vavouranakis 2014). Such mixture of messages applies to other parts of this burial practice: pithoi are not items widely available and probably they were objects that would cost to replace. At the same time, pithoi burials seem to be always in liminal places, spatially alienated from other burial places. The differences between built tombs and pithos burials are so marked that they do not seem to represent simple wealth distinction (Seager 1916). I would argue that pithos burials used the body to display contradictory identities: somebody was given the right of formal interment while at the same time marking their different nature. A custom first devised to deal with the abnormality of infant burial may have developed to include other fringe or liminal social statuses, such as foreigners or repudiated women. Such people may have become part of significant identities about community, but at the same time they presented a stigmatised social status. Still, one must not forget that such social roles may not relate directly with the identities that structured social practices of the same people while part of the living community. In embodiment terms, cemeteries reflect the living group's interpretation of how the corpse must embody the personal identities, adding many layers of meaning to the archaeological record. Without good evidence from the settlements, one can only speculate how the identities that the corpses in the jars were made to embody related to the identities and roles of the living person.

A simple correlation of pithos with individual identity is flawed as it relies on a modern understanding of the "individualized western perspective" (Harris and Robb 2013, 14). But it would be incorrect to replace this view with a similar one-to-one relationship. If the idea of embodied identities can contribute to our study of MM I Crete it is by showing the necessity to understand the pithos burials as palimpsest of meanings and the conveyor of several overlapping views of the body and its relationship with society. This fits well with the variability of the record, that indicates the flexible way in which each community and each particularly interment materialises the changing social views that are engulfing Crete during the period. Pithoi do not indicate a rise of important of individual identities, but an ongoing struggle to articulate several shifting identities at a moment of fundamental changes on the island.

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24

Fire, Fragmentation and the Body in the Late Bronze Age Aegean

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Although mortuary data is one of the primary sources for studying the Late Bronze Age (LBA) in the Aegean, it is often studied in isolation from the complex, multi-staged processes and performances that made up the funeral and everything that followed it. The depositional sequence of these actions is most frequently overlooked, not least because of practical difficulties in reconstructing these events and the ephemeral and often ambiguous nature of the evidence. Despite these limitations, however, there are many clues, both direct – in the form of residual remains – and indirect – in the form of purposefully destroyed things[1] – that hint at a whole range of funerary and post-funerary actions (see *e.g.* Cavanagh 1978; Boyd 2002; 2014; cf. Green 2015).

An important, but hitherto little explored, extension of the tombs' use is the post-funerary manipulation of human remains (see also Girella and Todaro, this volume). This paper focuses on one such episode of manipulation, namely the use of fire in post-funeral actions. With all its symbolic and transformative qualities and the ability to create strong emotive experiences, fire has been used in funeral practice for millennia. Cremation, as an alternative to inhumation, is probably the best-known funeral action involving fire – but it represents only one such use, out of a number of different funerary uses.

The aim of this paper is twofold: 1) to revisit the interpretations put forward by scholars in the last 130 years or so with regard to the use of fires in Aegean tombs during the LBA; and 2) to build on and expand from the idea of fragmentation in the archaeological context along the lines of recent scholarship (Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007; Renfrew 2007). This discussion aims to identify episodes of "intentional fragmentation" and look at the use of bones and skeletal remains as "things" that can be manipulated in ways that do not necessarily conform to current models of interpretation.

The story so far…

In the late 19th and early 20th century, following Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenae and his pursuit of Homeric reflections, traces of fire in Aegean tombs were often unquestionably interpreted as evidence for Homeric practices, largely inspired by the burial of Patroclus (*Iliad*, book 23). It soon became clear, however, that these traces were not remnants of primary cremations, but appeared to be linked either to primary practices associated with the inhumation of an individual or, most commonly, with post-funeral actions. Despite noticing these actions, scholars remained largely pre-occupied with explaining the origins of cremation in the Aegean (Melas 1984; 2001; Jung

2007; Ruppenstein 2013) – a practice more systematically performed in the southern Aegean from 1200–1150 BC onwards. Many considered the introduction of cremation as evidence for the arrival of new people (*e.g.* Andronikos 1954 and 1968, with earlier references). It was within this framework, of Homeric archaeology and ethnic groups on the move (*e.g.* the "Dorians"), that cremation was for a long time approached and interpreted in Aegean scholarship. Although in the last 30 years, this approach has changed radically, not least because of the more systematic study of the skeletal remains and the realisation that cremation is not necessarily ethnic- or religion-specific, few scholars have ventured the study of other forms of "fire performances" in a coherent and systematic manner.

Being involved in the study and publication of a number of LBA tombs and their assemblages, where fire events were thought to have been observed, I have come across this methodological issue – especially the lack of publication of good quality, comparative data; and by data, I refer here to both material culture and bones, of humans and animals, as well as plants and seed remains. In order to assess the data from the tombs under study and contextualise them within the wider world of the LBA, I became increasingly interested in understanding when and where these fire events appeared, what they entailed, how they were performed, and in drawing a more nuanced picture with regard to their interpretation.

In the case of the LBA in the southern Aegean, we are faced with a number of problems: 1) we are often dealing with tombs which were used for many burials over a long period of time and in some cases over different periods; 2) there is a difficulty in distinguishing "true secondary burials" from "disturbed primary burials" (Cook 1999; Schmidt and Symes 2008); 3) we are often faced with inconsistent descriptions and data records in preliminary reports, especially when archaeologists are using the term "pyre" to denote any sort of fire remains without providing further details as to the extent, location and consistency of these "pyres", let alone any analysis of the soil found there; 4) moreover, what archaeologists identify as "burned bones" in their preliminary reports, often turn out to be, after proper examination, the result of taphonomic conditions rather than of actual burning (Wells 1990, 135–8). In this respect, caution is indeed needed, not least because we still have relatively few good skeletal studies at our disposal and what we identify as "fire performances or ceremonies" need neither coherently nor consistently represent a uniform phenomenon or single episode.

Christos Tsountas suggested in 1888 that the presence of fire in the LBA tombs was the result of "customary rites in honour of the dead", an idea largely informed by modern Christian ethics and practices (Tsountas 1888, 134). Small particles of charcoal were also interpreted as coming from torches lit in an attempt to illuminate the interior of these tombs (Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 138; Keramopoullos 1917, 195). In relation to the tombs he excavated at Mycenae, Tsountas observed that the fires lit "were usually slight, and intended only to consume the cloth", stressing the lack of evidence for the practice of cremation (Tsountas and Mannatt 1897, 138–9 and 147–8). In the 1920s, Arthur Evans and Martin Nilsson introduced the idea that these traces represented the burning of "sacrificial offerings" or the remains of "purificatory rites" associated with the re-opening of the tomb for a new burial, extending Tsountas' idea further (*e.g.* Evans 1929, 3; Nilsson 1927, 519–24; 1950, 595–9; for a discussion of these ideas see also Gallou 2005, 120–3).

By the 1930s, scholars were well aware that fire remains in a number of tombs may have resulted from post-Bronze Age activities, including more recent events, such as shepherds taking shelter in the tomb (*e.g.* Frödin and Persson 1938, 159; Nilsson 1950, 596). It also became apparent with the excavation of a number of tholos and chamber tombs in the Argolid that this practice was not consistently performed even within this region, let alone other Aegean regions (Wells 1990, 125). Given also the lack of traces of fire from the majority of LBA tombs, Wace and Blegen argued that burned remains, and especially the presence of charcoal in tombs, was best explained as a result of "fumigation" – every time the tomb had to be opened for a new internment, charcoal was burned to dispel the stench (Wace 1932, 140–1; Blegen 1937, 250–2; Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 72, 112–3; Gallou 2005, 120–3).

The archaeological record

The use of fire in funerary contexts has a very long history in the Aegean. It is attested in the Mesolithic and Neolithic (*e.g.* in the Peloponnese and Thessaly), also for primary cremation, and in several Early and Middle Bronze Age assemblages in northern and southern Greece, including the Cyclades (Moutafi 2013) and Crete (numerous examples); and the LBA tholos and chamber tombs that form the focus of this article.

For the LBA, fire appears to form part of post-funerary performances, which, in turn, are considered a response to the introduction of collective burials and a social need for the expression of group identities. If that was indeed the case, a "burning" question arises: why were they not more systematically, consistently, and widely performed? Before rushing into interpretations, we ought to understand what we are actually describing. For the purpose of this paper, I will focus exclusively on remains involving fire and the manipulation of human bones from *inside* the tomb.

Out of around 3000 LBA tombs with some burial data, only 110 (*i.e*. around 4%) have yielded, or are reported to have yielded, substantial fire remains in the form of fire marks, layers of ash, charcoal, and burned objects and bones. Of these, the percentage appears to be higher in tholos tombs (around 12%, or *c*. 30 out of *c*. 250 examples) than in chamber tombs (around 4%, or *c*. 80 out of *c*. 2000 examples).[2] Given the post-Bronze Age disturbances that have affected a number of tombs and the small number of skeletal assemblages so far systematically studied out of this vast funerary corpus, these numbers should be cautiously used as they may be skewed, not least as these fires may not have been exclusively performed *inside* the tombs. Whatever the original percentage, however, it becomes clear that fire events were not universally performed *inside* tholos and chamber tombs during the LBA.

Fire remains are most frequently associated with tombs the use of which dates between 1450 and 1200 BC, with two thirds of the reported cases coming from the Argolid (54%) and Messenia (12%). Although the high occurrence in the Argolid may at first be taken to represent a popular local practice, this region has overall a better publication record and a larger concentration of tombs per site than any other Aegean region. For example, in the Argolid and Messenia, fire remains involving human bones in the period under investigation have been reported from about 11 different sites – the difference in the percentage mentioned above being the result of the higher occurrence of these remains per site within the Argolid, where larger cemeteries have been excavated. Although the lack of reports from some regions may be due to the poor quality of available data, one area does stand out as different: Crete, where so far this practice has not been reported in a corpus of more than 900 tombs dated to 1450–1200 BC (for the rare and unusual instance of cremation – mostly in pithoi – at Olous in eastern Crete, where this practice predominates during Late Minoan (LM) IIIA2–IIIB, see Kanta 2001; Ruppenstein 2013, 186, no. 1). The latter observation is of interest, given also Crete's prominence in funeral fires in the preceding periods, and the attestation of primary cremations during LM IIIC (Ruppenstein 2013, 187, fig. 2, 193–4). Before attempting, however, an answer to the "why there" and "why then" questions, we need to look at some examples and interpretations of fire episodes identified in the Aegean LBA tombs.

Although work is currently in progress in many fronts, what archaeologists often come across in this period is a negligible amount or small quantity of human bones showing signs of burning, *i.e*. <10% of the total amount of bones studied. The lack of alterations on the human bones along with their smoked black and blue/grey colour suggest that they were thrown in short-term fires of around 300–600°C after the body had entirely decomposed. Even when we have traces of burning, these are largely limited to a few bones rather than the entire skeleton.[3] As it now stands, fire, in most LBA tombs, did not result in the complete secondary cremation of the human body but in the "charring" of some of the bones (also described as "smoking": Triantaphyllou 2002; for the well-documented case of a 13th century BC cremation at Phaia Petra in northern Greece, see Valla *et al*. 2013).

The low frequency of burned bone fragments has in the past been interpreted as accidental burning of the disposal area where the remains were primarily deposited. Yet, the idea that this "charring" could be unintentional is difficult to fathom. We may be dealing either with an intentional disposal of a small number of selected bones, or with the residual remains of a larger group of bones, the rest of which might have been removed. In other examples, however, we are confronted with larger quantities of burned bones, again with no evidence of surface alteration, but accompanied with extensive traces of fire on the chamber floor. The fact that we have larger quantities may be due to different levels of preservation and manipulation, different episodes, or even different practices.

Until recently these episodes were poorly understood. In 2004 an intact LBA tholos tomb came to light at Kazanaki in the northeastern part of the new ring road of the city of Volos in Thessaly. The tomb's prompt preliminary publication, led by Dr Adrymi-Sismani, and the exemplary examination of the skeletal remains have shed considerable light on the sequence of post-funeral events associated with this tomb (Adrymi-Sismani and Alexandrou 2009; Papathanasiou 2009). This is the first tomb where the sequence of events can be reconstructed with some certainty allowing for a more fine-grained understanding of one of the fire ceremonies performed in the

Aegean in the LBA.

Based on numerous clay pots, thousands of jewellery beads and ornaments, pieces of ivory, seals and rings, it appears that the tomb's main period of use was the late 15th and early 14th century BC (Adrymi-Sismani and Alexandrou 2009, 140 who also place the last use of the tomb near the end of 14th century BC). A rock-cut dromos, originally more than 20 metres long (not excavated completely), led to the deep and tall stomion and into the chamber (6.70 m in diameter). The stomion was found blocked with a dry-stone wall. The relieving triangle over the stomion's lintel slabs was not blocked – yet the removal of the earth fill from the dromos revealed no post-Bronze Age evidence of use (Adrymi-Sismani and Alexandrou 2009, 134; the completion of the dromos' excavation may, however, yield different results).

Excavation inside the chamber yielded a thick layer of ash (about 10 cm), carbonised material and burned and unburned bones and objects. The bones in particular were very fragmented, commingled, and poorly preserved. Four pit graves and seven secondary pits had been dug in the chamber floor. Despite the fact that all the pit graves were found tightly sealed with clay packing and numerous stone slabs, the central and largest grave, in front of the entrance (pit grave no. 4) was found empty. The removal of the slabs revealed further details of the fire episode that took place in the Kazanaki tholos.

According to the osteological analysis (Papathanasiou 2009), sometime after the corpses had decomposed, a short-term fire of 200–400°C was lit inside the chamber and in an area near the tomb's stomion. Seven individuals were identified in the skeletal record from the tomb's chamber and pits. After the flesh had entirely decomposed, bones from these individuals, but not the complete skeletons, were thrown into the fire without distinguishing age, gender, or a particular anatomical feature. Once the fire got extinguished, the performers dispersed the burned and unburned bones over the floor of the tholos, in seven secondary pits (as many as the deceased whose bones were involved in the ceremony) and in three of the four pits. The large and deep pit number 4, which also stratigraphically appears to have been among the earliest, remained empty and was sealed with a very large stone slab (4 m long × 0.60 m wide, perhaps originally a marker: Adrymi-Sismani and Alexandrou 2009, 135; see also Mega Monastiri chamber tomb Γ: Theocharis 1964, pl. 300a). Interestingly, two more individuals were identified in the tomb's relieving triangle. They were also in a disarticulated position but more complete than the other seven skeletons. Yet, unlike the bones from the chamber, those from the relieving triangle showed no signs of burning. Thus, from the nine individuals identified in total from the Kazanaki tholos none was in a primary articulated position; yet only (some of) the bones from the seven out of the nine individuals were thrown into the fire lit inside the tomb's chamber.

The skeletal analysis suggests that the bones belong to six adults (men and women), between 18 and at least 40 years old, and three children, aged between 5 and 10 years old. Given the jewellery, pottery and other small finds recovered from the tomb, and the life-size dimensions of the pits, it appears that the tomb was originally used for primary inhumations, only later to be thrown into the fire. The disarticulated bones in the triangle (belonging to an adult woman and a child) remain a mystery, as their exact position in the sequence of events is difficult to determine.

Despite the obvious difficulty of explaining and associating the bones in the relieving triangle with those from the chamber, the following narrative can be offered based on the preliminary study of the tombs' finds and skeletal remains: seven individuals were thrown into a short-term fire, after their flesh had decomposed; without maintaining any interest whatsoever in skeletal and artefactual associations, once the fire was extinguished, they were deposited in a commingled form in three of the main pits and in seven secondary pits. The remaining objects and bones, burned and unburned, were scattered on the chamber floor.

The Kazanaki tholos provides us with what can potentially be the best-documented case of intentional fragmentation through the use of fire involving human bones from any LBA tomb in the southern Aegean. Something similar may have been practised in the nearby tholoi at Dimini (*e.g.* Kousis 1887; Adrymi-Sismani and Georgiou 2002; Adrymi-Sismani and Alexandrou 2009, 139–41; see also the Menidi tholos: Lolling 1880; 1887). Although one should be extremely careful, given the high percentage of post-Bronze Age disturbances of LBA tombs, it is possible to argue that the fire episode in the Kazanaki tholos, and especially the intentional act of fragmentation of the earlier burials, is not an isolated case. A thorough re-investigation of earlier excavations is necessary in order to reconstruct, to the extent possible, what may be the result of plundering, post-Bronze Age activity, and the collapse of the tomb's roof (*e.g.* Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995, 114; Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2003, 434–5; 2009); or of a deliberate and rather orderly act, as it appears to have been the case in the Kazanaki tholos.[4]

From "body" to "no-body"? bones as things and intentional fragmentation

It is because we often think in terms of the "veneration of ancestors" that some past practices may today come as "shocking" or "disturbing" (see also, Croucher 2012). I have intentionally avoided any reference to either terms (*i.e.* "veneration" or the "ancestors") simply because we are largely unaware of the relationship of the individuals buried in the same grave, the people responsible for performing these actions, their motives, and the time lapsed between the actual funeral and the performance of the post-funeral episodes.

One of the biggest challenges, however, is establishing the timing of these post-funeral actions. Scholarship generally favours the idea that the dromoi of Mycenaean tombs were filled in with soil immediately or soon after the funeral had taken place, with this process being repeated for every new interment (Mee 2010, 287–8). The recent micromorphological study of intact sediment samples in the chamber tombs at Ayia Sotira and Barnavos near ancient Nemea provides support to this idea and important details about the process of backfilling and re-opening of these tombs. According to Karkanas *et al.* (2012, 2731): "although, there is a possibility that dromoi were left open for some time after the burials, the majority of sedimentological evidence argues against a long period of keeping the dromoi open." Undoubtedly a lot more samples are needed, from different regions and time periods, before this important observation turns into a "rule"; not least, as there is also another school of thought favouring the possibility that the dromoi of a number of Mycenaean tombs, including some of the most monumental examples such as the "treasuries" of Atreus at Mycenae and of Minyas at Orchomenos, may have actually stayed open for some time before and after the burial (Gallou 2005, 66, with additional references).

Although it is at present difficult to demonstrate that the refilling of the dromoi was a general practice, the Nemea study suggests that in this particular instance the chambers of these tombs were not easily accessible after a funeral and prior to the next. Thus, the performance of these post-funeral actions – if not associated with a new burial – would have required at least the partial re-digging of the dromos for gaining access into the chamber adding further weight to the idea that these were well-orchestrated performances, no matter how exceptional. Moreover, the refilling of the dromos could also perhaps explain to some extent the rarity and extraordinariness of post-funeral behaviour involving the use of fire in the life of the tomb, in the sense that it could be connected with the end of a grave rather than with its "normal" pattern of use.

The manipulation of and interaction with the physical remains and the confrontation with the spiritual and material realities, especially in association with a new burial, may have triggered, as recently argued by Wolpert (2007), the necessary mechanisms to confront mortality and legitimise relationships between the dead and the living. Many explanations have been offered for the introduction of these post-funeral actions, ranging from the re-affirmation and re-enactment of kinship structures, relations and status, to the negotiation of memories and experiences. What is particularly striking is the possibility that some of these fire episodes may have involved the deconstruction of the body and its introduction to a collective set of commingled and scattered bones.

In the Aegean, some research has already been carried out in relation to identifying and interpreting episodes of intentional fragmentation (*e.g.* MacGillivray *et al.* 2000; Rehak 2000 on Minoan rhyta; Cunningham 2007 on the Palaikastro kouros; Renfrew 2007 and Renfrew *et al.* 2012 on the Keros broken marble figurines and vessels; cf. Whitley 2009, 285–7 who expresses his scepticism on the "sacrificial burning and breakage" of things). Yet this idea always revolves around "religious practice" and "objects" – not social actions and skeletal remains.

It is the idea of bones as "objects", or better, as part of a wider system of things, that I find particularly appealing in the context of the LBA graves in the Aegean; and especially the possibility that some of them may have developed a "biography". The manipulation of bones should be studied within this framework, especially when one takes into account the deconstruction of one's physical and social body for the construction of "another body" – the important distinction here, long made by anthropologists, is that what we define as a "person" and what we define as a "body" need not be the same thing, but "can overlap and diverge from each other in culturally-specific ways" (Fowler 2002, 47; 2004). In this respect, the different treatments and transformations observed in the skeletal record of some LBA tombs in the Aegean may reflect different post-funerary readings of the body (cf. the, now famous, Cladh Hallan "composite mummies": Parker Pearson *et al.* 2005, 534; Hanna *et al.* 2012).

The fragmentation of the body with the use of fire is only one out of many ways, in which bones were manipulated in the LBA tombs in the southern Aegean. These involved the handling of decayed remains, exhumation and the transference of earlier remains to another part of the same tomb, the removal of remains to a

new or existing installation, or the stacking of primary burials over earlier burials. Quite simplistically, piling up bones or pushing them aside has, in the past, been interpreted as "indifference or disrespect for the bones of the ancestors" without really assessing the impact these actions had on the participating performers and the community (*e.g.* Mylonas 1966, 113; but see also Papazoglou-Manioudaki 2009 who argues in favour of specific episodes involving the "dishonouring of the dead").

Decomposition was not always complete at the time of exhumation, as indicated by the presence of partially articulated remains in some tombs. The co-occurrence of "primary with secondary" acts of deposition show that episodes of separation and transition in laying-out the newly-deceased often overlap with actions of incorporation involving the re-deposition of secondary remains of the long-dead (for similar patterns from a Middle Eastern context see, Green 2015). Within this sequence of events, fire ceremonies could be considered as punctuation markers. Often marking the end (or at least what appears to us to be the end) of the tomb's use, some of these fire episodes may have also marked the complete physical breakdown of the body and its incorporation and entanglement to a new body of things, where skeletal and object associations played little or no role at all. The possibility of identifying actions of deliberate deconstruction of the body in the LBA comes into sharp contrast with current models of interpretation (all of which revolve around the "veneration", or not, of "ancestors") and with the post-1200 BC cremations. In the latter case, there is often a conscious effort to collect as many of the bones of the deceased, with the identity of the dead being retained by virtue of having his/her bones placed in a special container and accompanied by objects (see also Whitley, this volume).

Concluding remarks

Based on the evidence available so far, we can identify at least four different fire actions in LBA tombs in the southern Aegean: 1) fires lit *inside* the chamber into which human bones and other things were thrown as in the case of the Kazanaki tholos; 2) the practice of real or complete cremation, which in southern Greece at least is not systematically performed prior to the 12th century BC; 3) fires involving animal offerings, perhaps in relation to sacrifices or funerary banquets/meals, but occasionally also involving material culture – they are attested in the tomb's chamber, stomion, dromos and periboloi; 4) and finally, fires (and fragmentation) associated with the post-Bronze Age use of the tomb resulting from human and non-human agents.

The variety and inconsistency of these remains suggests that fire did not serve a sole purpose in the LBA tombs. It is thus highly advisable to analyse these fire actions contextually within their specific spatial and temporal record before attempting any linking of the available, often superficially similar-looking, dots. Nevertheless, the scattering of bones, along with other things, in LBA tombs in the southern Aegean could have actually been the result of deliberate post-funeral actions and not necessarily or exclusively of looting or post-Bronze Age disturbances as previously thought. Given that fire episodes may not have involved all bodies buried in the tomb (or even entire skeletons), were neither exclusive to elaborately-built and richly-furnished tombs nor universally practiced in the southern Aegean during the LBA, it becomes clear that their performance might have been extra-ordinary and not part of normative and customary practice. For those who decided which bones were to be thrown into the fire, however, this practice constituted a punctuation of the collective and the creation of a new "commingled body" of things. As to "why" this actually happened, it is indeed very difficult to answer. Explanations could range from spiritual and apotropaic to the manipulation of particular identities, and may well have been case-specific.

Visually, some of these fire episodes would have had a lasting effect to all those actively engaged in and eligible to participate or witness them. Starting with the reopening of the tomb, strong sensory experiences would have accompanied all those partaking, including the sight of the transformed remains of the deceased followed by the preparation of space within the tomb. The smoke, and possibly the stench, would have been noticeable from a distance. The sights and sounds, and the very nature of manipulating and interacting with the deconstructed body, and with the other things deposited in the grave, would have played a considerable role in the creation of memories – helping both to remember and forget the dead – in an embodied, entangled and commingled way.

Notes

1 The all-inclusive term "things" is used here to refer to a variety of entities and not just material culture (Hodder 2012, 7–10).

2 The data discussed here derives, primarily, from my Oxford D.Phil. (Galanakis 2008).

3 I am grateful to Niki Papakonstantinou (pers. comm.) for sharing this information with me from her ongoing research in Messenia. The preliminary data collected by Sevi Triantaphyllou and Niki Papakonstantinou as part of our study of the Daras tholos tomb near Nichoria, where "pyres" had been originally reported, revealed no signs of burning.

4 Any future re-investigation should also take into account the so-called "cenotaphs", not least as fire remains observed there could have formed part of "a final act" in the tombs' history of use (*e.g.* Kokla tholos: Demakopoulou 1990; Berbati tholos: Frizell 1984; Vapheio tholos: Tsountas 1889).

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25

Spatial and Temporal Variability in Identity and Representation within the Bronze Age Cemeteries of Knossos, Crete

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Late Bronze Age (LBA) Crete underwent a series of sequential and abrupt political changes when shifting from a multi-palatial setup of the Neopalatial at the end of LM IB, to a monopalatial setup of the Final Palatial centred at Knossos and starting in LM II, followed by its collapse in Late Minoan (LM) IIIA2, and the subsequent rise of independent regional centres during the Postpalatial LM IIIA2–LM IIIB early. These dramatic changes have yet to be linked to burial customs as a means to access continuity and change in social structures at site as well as island level. The small number of fully published tombs and cemeteries, the obscurity of assorted Neopalatial material, a fixation (up until recently) with defining "Minoan" or "Mycenaean" ethnic identities through the mortuary record, and the disputed date for the destruction of the Palace at Knossos, are factors largely to blame.

In this paper I shall juxtapose the burial customs of Neopalatial and Final Palatial Crete, with particular reference to Knossos, in order to discuss changes in social relations. Then I shall argue that in the mortuary arena of Final Palatial Knossos social identities were specific and "staged" through the manipulation of material culture, a practice which continued into the Postpalatial but with a different material expression. Finally, I shall selectively test mortuary data from other Cretan contexts for changes in social relations and the construction of comparable spatially and temporally varied identities. Changes in attitudes towards body adornment and disposal, assorted material culture and group participation are central to my argument.

The Neopalatial background

An appreciation of how dramatic were the changes in attitudes towards body disposal from the Neopalatial to Final Palatial period has only recently been acknowledged (Hatzaki 2012; in prep.), despite the availability of, albeit limited but nevertheless, key datasets. The absence of archaeologically visible burial for the Neopalatial, a period with the highest density across urban and rural landscapes alike is notorious, marking a radical change from the Pre- and Protopalatial tradition of archaeologically visible burial at above the ground communal tombs (Leggara Herrero 2009). Burial in the Neopalatial at unmarked shallow pits, open-air exposure or most likely burial at sea, or by some other way with little chance of archaeological recovery, may have been practised. Archaeologically visible burial during the Neopalatial did, however, occur with evidence deriving from only a handful of sites (Hatzaki 2012,

309–10), but since rare, it was most likely highly restricted socially. The picture from Knossos and Poros is far more complex (Table 25.1). Protopalatial cemeteries consisting of isolated subterranean rock-cut multi-chambered tombs (Monsteriako Kephali dating to the Prepalatial, Preston 2013) or in groups (Ailias: Hood 2010; Mavro Spelio: Forsdyke 1927; Alberti 2001; 2006; 2013) continued to be used throughout the Neopalatial but included newly rock cut tombs (*e.g.* Poros: Dimopoulou 1994; Muhly 1999; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 366). The semi-subterranean Kephala Tholos (Hood 1957, 22–3; 1960; Hood and Smyth 1981, 57, no. 308) and the ostentatious Temple Tomb (Evans 1935, 962–1018) stand unique: the former for the use of an essentially "Prepalatial tomb-type" down to the Neopalatial, the latter for being the sole example of a partly subterranean ashlar monumental hybrid. The conspicuously monumental Temple Tomb vs. rock-cut multi-chamber tombs in the Knossos valley imply that a permanent intra group hierarchy was actively pursued and projected.

Concern with space management, for the dead as well as for the living repeatedly occurs in the tombs of Knossos and Poros with spacious interiors in the range of 75–90 m^2 (Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 367). The presence of the latter group is indirectly confirmed by the large concentrations of conical cups (*e.g.*, Poros: Muhly 1999, 115, pls 1–4; Temple Tomb: Hatzaki 2007a, 179, fig. 5.16.4), among other tablewares, suggesting that a fairly large group of live participants "toasted" or "offered" substances in very small quantities, in ceremonies which took place within the spacious interior of the tomb. The curation of "dead" people and associated discarded things is expressed through the secondary burial of artefacts and ecofacts in specially built compartments and pits (*e.g.* Poros: Muhly 1999, 30, fig. 1, pl. 1a; Dimopoulou 1994, pls 229b, 231a–b; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2004, 369, fig. 31.3; Dimopoulou and Rethemiotakis 2000, 39) implying that whatever entered the confined tomb environment had to remain within. Therefore, the transient nature of each new burial was obvious to those entering the tomb since traces of secondary burial piled up in various parts of the tomb's interior. Evidence dating back to the Prepalatial from south central Crete suggests that secondary burial was performed before the complete decomposition of the body confirming that the identities and social status of the individual, as staged through material culture during the deposition of the body, were indeed temporal (*e.g.* Moni Odigitria: Triantaphyllou 2010; in press.). Evidence for post-burial body manipulation from the Neopalatial burials at the Myrtos Tomb (Cadogan 2011, 113), further confirms that the identities and social status of the individual, as staged through material culture during the deposition of the body, were indeed temporal. As a result, once within the tomb environment, the corporate identity of a mass of disarticulated members of the same social group was dominant, rather than that of the individual (past or newly arrived), signalling to the living the ultimate elimination of all traces of the individual as a social persona shortly after burial. The situation in Final Palatial Knossos could not have been more different.

Final Palatial Knossos

The rich and varied mortuary data from the Knossos valley (Table 25.1) have been central to the discussion of the new political situation of Final Palatial Crete. Zapher Papoura currently of a 101 tombs (the largest cemetery excavated as yet at Knossos) provides a unique opportunity to discuss changes in mortuary ritual behaviour and manipulation of material culture during a period that covers the rise, and fall, of Knossian mono-palatial dominance since the cemetery's use spans from LM IIIA1 to LM IIIB early (Hatzaki 2007b). So far, variability among Final Palatial mortuary datasets has been interpreted as an expression (or not) of ethnic identity ("Minoan" vs "Mycenaean", compare Alberti 2004; Nafplioti 2008) or as an experimentation triggered by the changing political situation centred at Knossos (Preston 2004). I have argued elsewhere that the departure from Neopalatial practices was fast paced, expressed through the intentional creation/adoption of a new Knossian cultural package (Hatzaki 2011, 84). This fast paced departure from Neopalatial cultural practices was selective, intentional, carefully, and consciously crafted, with the explicit aim of establishing a new status quo (intentionally expressed through a somewhat different material culture package) aimed to exclude social groups who during the Neopalatial period had privileged access to resources, finished products, and power. Within this framework variation in the choice of cemetery, type of tomb and artefactual assemblages can no longer be viewed as arbitrary, or restricted to labelling tombs as artefactually "rich" or "poor" with an emphasis on "warrior burials" (*e.g.* Sellopoulo: Popham *et al*. 1974, 254–7). Instead, I propose that during the Final Palatial period a series of often overlapping elite identities were staged in death through a careful selection of type-artefacts. Such overlapping identities are conspicuously prevalent

at Sellopoulo Tomb 4, used here as a case study. Artefacts accompanying Burial 1 can been grouped into a series of discreet identities including “the well groomed”, “the high ranking administrator”, “the warrior and hunter”, “the provider of meat for feasts”, “the provider of a banquet”, and last but not least “the feast participant” (Table 25.2). The latter can be directly juxtaposed to activities sponsored by the palace, taking place within its vicinity, and exemplified through iconographical evidence (Camp Stool fresco) deriving from no place other than *the* “room with a view” overlooking the Palace’s West Court (Evans 1935, 379–96, fig. 316).

Table 25.1 Cemeteries in the region of Knossos with dates of use.

	Neo-palatial	*LM II*	*LM IIIA1*	*LM IIIA2*	*LM IIIB*
Poros	*				
Poros-Katsambas		*	*	*	
Isopata		*	*	*	
Kephala		*	*	*	
Agios Ioannis		*			
New Hospital Site		*			
Zapher Papoura			*	*	*
Sellopoulo			*	*	*
Monasteriako Kephali	*				
Mavro Spelio - Neopalatial (multi-chamber tombs) - Final Palatial-Postpalatial (single chamber tombs with dromos)	*	*	*	*	*
Ailias	* (MM III)				
Gypsades Tholos	*				
Temple Tomb	*	*	*	*	
Rock-cut tombs near Temple Tomb		*	*	*	
Upper Gypsades	* (MM III)		*	*	*

MM (Middle Minoan)

However at Zapher Papoura a good number of Final Palatial burials are void of any finds (for dating see Hatzaki 2005, 87–90). Contemporary textual evidence reveals that Knossos was controlling 80,000 sheep for the production of wool, which was channelled to a highly specialised textile industry producing cloth of exceptional quality (Killen 1964; Olivier 1967). The Linear B tablets imply that the so-called “followers” (or e-que-ta) were involved in the consumption end of such textiles (Killen 2008). Might the burials currently described as “poor” have been associated with identities related to the palatially controlled textile industry? Concentrations of stone “buttons” recorded at the level of the thigh at Zapher Papoura (see for example Tomb 34, Evans 1906, 51–4, fig. 51d–e) could suggest that some individuals wore a garment with a belt or a triangular end, for which iconographical evidence is available from the contemporary fresco programme of the Palace at Knossos (see Procession Fresco, Evans 1928, 720, fig. 450, 726, fig. 453).

If Final Palatial burial assemblages in the Knossos valley transmitted a series of overlapping identities, can we sustain the assumption that the type of tomb is irrelevant? At Zapher Papoura tin coated vessels, including the kylix, are restricted to the pit cave, thus demonstrating that the shape of the tomb in certain instances *is* relevant to the identities personified in death. Furthermore, the absence of the kylix from Upper Gypsadhes (a cemetery located south of the Palace, Hood *et al*. 1959) contrasts with the overwhelming presence of this vessel at Zapher Papoura and Sellopoulo (both located north of the Palace), suggesting that some of the identities personified during death were spatially restricted to different parts of the Knossos valley. Perhaps the cup with a decoration reminiscent of contemporary textile motifs was an accessible substitute for an expensive garment. It is, therefore, far from accidental that while in the town of Knossos rounded cups decorated with textile inspired motifs were consumed in staggering numbers, at the palace (Popham 1970, 20) and tombs of Knossos this shape is rare, and as far tombs are concerned, they are spatially confined to those south of the palace. Furthermore, when tablewares are combined

with weapons, a consistent pattern emerges: with the exception of the Temple Tomb, burials with weapons are confined to cemeteries located north of the palace (Watrous and Blitzer 1997, 512–13), a situation mirrored in the deposition of kylikes including tin coated examples.

Table 25.2: Sellopoulo Tomb 4 Burial 1, objects grouped according to identity personified in death

Identity	*Object*
"The well groomed"	*Personal adornment*
	Gold bead/pendant J1
	33 gold relief beads J2
	Gold spherical beads J5
	Glass paste beads J3
	Gold ring with cloisonné work J6
	Ring bezel of gold foil over bronze J7
	Ring of coil gold wire J13
	Personal objects
	Mirror disc B10
	Mirror disc B30
	Bathing equipment (to warm and pour water)
	Tripod cauldron B1
	Tripod cauldron B4
	Tripod cauldron B7
	Piriform oinochoe B5
	Piriform oinochoe B20
	Oinochoe B18
	Hydria B2
	Laver B9
	Laver B31
	Spouted lekane B3
	Spouted lekane B19
	One-handled basin B17
"The high rank administrator"	Engraved gold ring J8
	Seal S1
	Pair of scale pans B6 & B8
"The warrior and hunter"	Sword B13
	Spear head B12
	Spear head B14
	'Fishing spear' B11
	Fishing hook B28
"The provider of meat for feasts/ banqueting" (parceling meat portions)	Cleaver B15
	Cleaver B16
	'Cutter' B26
	Small one edged-knife B29
"The provider of feasts/banqueting"	Jug P5
	Piriform jar P7
	Jug P9
Unassigned objects	Lamp with skillet handle B27
	Vessel of unknown type B21

(catalogue numbers refer to object IDs in Popham *et al.* 1974, 205, fig. 8, 211, fig. 10, 215, fig. 11, 226, fig. 15)

While expenditure in the construction of tombs is important (Preston 2004, 329, fig. 4), architectural form affects the type of ritual performed and the number of "active" and "passive" participants. The change in tomb type from the Neo- to the Final Palatial period reduced the number of burials possible to a maximum of three (no secondary burial was practiced), prolonged the procession towards the tomb through a long rock-cut passage and made the performance of a toasting event inside the tomb impossible, while only the odd kylix was occasionally smashed at the dromos in front of the blocked entrance (*e.g.* Popham *et al*. 1974, 199). This pattern is corroborated through iconographical evidence: the absence of drinking vessels from the Agia Triada sarcophagus is, therefore, far from accidental. Could then tomb design imply that a much larger group of passive observers were standing outside the tomb boundaries signalling a major change from the Neopalatial where the spacious interior of the tomb could have accommodated a fairly large number of live participants?

Moving to the non-funerary world, while the Neopalatial fresco from Tylissos (Wright 2004, 157, fig. 8) depicts preparation for a feasting event taking place outdoors where a large number of individuals are actively involved, iconographic evidence of the Final Palatial period (Camp Stool fresco) depicts indoors banqueting restricted to a few seated individuals, providing remarkable iconographic testimony for events separating participants into groups of active few and passive many. Within the urban core of Final Palatial Knossos there is even architectural evidence for the physical manifestation of this trend: the so-called "dancing circles" (Warren 1983; 1984) are structures which, regardless of their intended use, could have accommodated only a very small number of "active" individuals standing, seated, or dancing. It is, therefore, not accidental that their construction and use are restricted to the same ceramic phase – LM IIIA1 – as that when the single burial tombs were employed in the Zapher Papoura cemetery (Hatzaki 2005, 87–90), nor that the dancing circles were abandoned (Warren 1983, 69) at about the time the palace at Knossos was destroyed – LM IIIA2, after which this site resumed its previous use as part of the settlement with houses (Warren 1997, 165, fig. 15, 174–5, figs 29, 31).

Postpalatial Knossos

But did the destruction of the Palace have an impact on the identities staged in death through a careful selection of type-artefacts? Based on currently available data, it seems that new cemeteries were no longer established, while the proliferation of permanent and overlapping identities ceased, coinciding with the re-introduction of secondary burial (Hatzaki 2005; 2012). The standardised use of larnakes at Knossos from LM IIIA2 onwards perhaps became a convenient method to hide the absence of elaborate garments – which following the collapse of the palatially controlled textile industry – became a rare no longer produced commodity. While in a few cases artefactual assemblages dimly echo past practices (tomb with bronzes and weapons at Upper Gypsades, Grammatikaki 1993), perfumed oil bottled in small or miniature stirrup jars, local or imported from Chania, became the preferred commodity, a depositional practice mirrored in the palatial ruin now housing the Shrine of the Double Axes (Evans 1928, 337, fig. 189; Popham 1964, 7–8, 16–7, pl. 2b). Yet kylikes, while present in the ruined palace, are conspicuously absent from contemporary Postpalatial tombs in the Knossos valley and especially Zapher Papoura. This much-varied distributional pattern for perfumed oil and kylikes perhaps suggests that two different social groups were claiming access to parts of the now ruined palace. The first group choose to identify themselves with the deposition of discreet assemblages of kylikes within different parts of the ruined building (perhaps actively pursuing a visual contact with frescoes still preserved on the palace walls), whereas the second group with depositions of perfumed oil. It is the latter group that continued to have access to burial at the Zapher Papoura cemetery. Are we therefore looking at two contrasting social groups being active within the ruined palace through different activities and associated artefact depositions during the Postpalatial? One continuing past claims and palatial practice (the old guard continuing to be buried at Zapher Papoura), the other for the first time claiming access, space, and practice within the monumental palatial ruin.

Beyond Knossos

Beyond Knossos, there is great potential for testing the identification of spatially comparable and temporally varied identities, particularly at Chania where a Zapher Papoura look-alike cemetery has been recently discovered (Andreadaki-Vlasaki and Protopapadaki 2010). Throughout the island LM IIIA1 material culture deposited in tombs is comparable to, and includes Knossian imports (Banou 2004; 2005) or look-alikes (Bosanquet *et al*. 1903, 316–7, figs 15–16), yet seeking a Knossian carbon-copy is perhaps the wrong question to ask. Instead, a considerable level of variation on a "Knossian theme" is attested. At Ayia Triada, a site well within the Knossian orbit, the above the ground Tomb 4 departs considerably from an assumed Knossian prototype (and perhaps intentionally resurrects the House Tomb type of the Pre- and Protopalatial past), whereas burial in the famous sarcophagus slightly predates the earliest larnax burials from Knossos (LM IIIA2, Hatzaki 2005, 88–9). At Mochlos, a site located more or less at the frontier of Knossian Final Palatial administrative interests, the proliferation of east Cretan drinking vessels (perhaps recalling past Neopalatial communal banqueting practices) contrasts with the handful of Knossian imports, and forms an assemblage which departs considerably from the assumed "metropolitan" prototype (Brogan *et al*. 2002; Smith 2005; 2011). Incidentally, while the amphoroid crater (plus assorted drinking vessels) became a popular vessel in Final Palatial and Postpalatial cemeteries throughout the island (especially in East Crete, Kanta 1980, pls 52.1–3, 57.9, 58.5, 65.7), at Knossos it is conspicuously absent save for one notable exception, where it is associated with the last burials in the Temple Tomb (*contra* Evans 1935, 1017, fig. 965). Perhaps the essence of a Knossian look-alike burial in the Final Palatial period is not to be found in particular combinations of artefactual assemblages, but in the re-introduction of archaeologically visible burial, restricted to social groups seeking exclusivity, and an alliance with Knossos expressed through the transmission of a Knossian flavour.

Conclusions

In the mortuary sphere of Final Palatial Knossos the body was intended to be preserved intact. Its placement for posterity in cemeteries essentially comprising spatially distributed articulated bodies is perhaps the most striking departure from the Neopalatial past, where each new interment entered a confined mortuary environment dominated by collective memory in the form of a mass of bones rather than articulated individuals. The conspicuous visibility of the individual as a social persona in a variety of contexts during the Final Palatial period should be linked to high status officials of the Knossian administration. If the concentration of Neopalatial ancestral bones in one tomb expresses the continued importance of the same social group as a collective body, then the abandonment of cemeteries, and the abrupt change in the spatial distribution of burials and cemeteries during the Final Palatial period, imply major changes in the social relations of those who received an archaeologically visible burial. Perhaps this shift expresses a departure from a society where a few large collective groups were dominant, to a society where the status of the individual could not be inherited but was actively pursued (perhaps appointed) through close links with the leaders of the Knossian palatial administration. The insistence on the preservation of the identity of the individual even after death, and the expression of a continued presence by the spread of burial across the mortuary – but also highly arable – landscape of the Knossos valley is significant. The abandonment of some cemeteries after a short period of use, followed by the foundation of new ones, suggests that these were dynamic rather than static social groups (Table 25.1). The dissemination of Knossian burial customs on large parts of the island from LM IIIA1 onwards suggests that Knossos had not only succeeded in becoming politically and economically dominant, but had initiated a transformation of social relations at a regional level. Therefore the impact of Knossos's monopalatial dominance triggered profound changes on a social level, which lasted well beyond the days of its palatial, but ultimately ephemeral glory.

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26

Collective Selves and Funerary Rituals. Early Mycenaean *Dromoi* as Spaces of Negotiation and Embodiment of Social Identities

Nikolas Papadimitriou

The present paper aims at investigating – both theoretically and in the context of the Early Mycenaean period in mainland Greece (Table 26.1) – the relation of funerary rituals with processes of shaping, negotiating and transmitting collective identities. In particular, I wish to explore the role of specially designated ritual spaces (in this case, the *dromoi* of Mycenaean tombs) as frameworks for the creation of embodied experiences of shared remembering and identification. In this effort, I will draw extensively on anthropological literature examining rituals as public performances.

Table 26.1: The chronology of mainland Greece in the 2nd millennium BC (after Cline 2010, xxx and 23).

Ceramic phase	*Approx. dates BC*	
Middle Helladic I (MH I)	2000–1900	
Middle Helladic II (MH II)	1900–1800	
Middle Helladic III (MH III)	1800–1700/1675	
Late Helladic I (LH I)	1700/1675–1635/00	"Early Mycenaean period"
Late Helladic IIA (LH IIA)	1635/00–1480/70	
Late Helladic IIB (LH IIB)	1480/70–1420/10	
Late Helladic IIIA1 (LH IIIA1)	1420/10–1390/70	
Late Helladic IIIA2 (LH IIIA2)	1390/70–1330/15	
Late Helladic IIIB (LH IIIB)	1330/15–1200/1190	

Anthropologists recognise widely the ability of rituals to instil social values, worldviews and power relations to the participants through bodily practices (Bell 1992, 98–101; Rappaport 1999, 27). Rituals provide symbolic *frames* within which intra- and inter-group relations are publicly *acted out* in ways that involve all senses (Goffmann 1974, 58; Bell 1997, 74). In this process of "acting out", liturgical canons and the actors' belief on their contents are of relatively little importance; what matters most is the public demonstration of conformity to those canons, *i.e.* participants indicating that "they accept whatever is encoded in the canon of that order" (Rappaport 1999, 119; cf. Durkheim 1912, 571–3). By doing so, actors subscribe consciously to the identity of the performing group, at least for the occasion of the ritual (Tambiah 1981, 140–1). Some scholars argue that rather than a mere quality of ritual, performance is one of its constitutive parts, without which ritual does not exist (Rappaport 1999, 37–8). This implies that rituals are dynamic actions, which depend on the performative responses of participants and are, thus, open to negotiation and change (Tambiah 1981, 115).

How do these theoretical propositions work in practice? One could try to answer this question by examining

modern examples of funeral; but as funerary rituals vary considerably among cultures and regions, this would necessitate the analysis of numerous cases. Therefore let us, instead, focus on a symbolic rite which has wider, cross-cultural character, and is more familiar to readers: the re-enactment of Christ's passing, performed on Good Friday among Christian communities around the world. I will refer particularly to the Greek orthodox version of the rite, which presents the closest analogies to a proper funeral. Such an example can shed light on the complex relation between ritual and identity and the importance of collective representations in public ceremonies.

Known as the *Epitaphios* (or *Epitaphios Threnos*, "the lamentation at the tomb"), the rite is centred on the bier that carries the effigy of Christ. The bier is placed in the church on the afternoon of Good Friday (a public holiday, during which bells ring a constant knell), and in the evening it is taken in procession around the town or village. This is the most significant part of the ceremonial, but also a great social event, which attracts a wide and diverse audience. Among participants are deeply religious people, well-educated in ecclesiastic texts; others who are religious only in an emotional way, with a strong belief in God but without reference to texts; others who are potently unreligious (or so they claim) and attend the event because of its social importance and the feeling of togetherness it generates; and, finally, those who participate because they cannot do otherwise, such as kids (some of whom are given special roles in the ceremony – *e.g.* to carry religious banners – which initiate them to the performative mysteries of social life).

The procession takes a highly structured form (a sequence of priests, music bands, civic and military authorities, and the congregation) and navigates through the living space of the community, inviting active engagement by the attendants (rather than having them as mere spectators). If performed well, the ritual evokes strong feelings even to those who do not believe in the passions of Christ as taught in school; most participants join the singing of ritual tunes, which they have learned through tradition, not schooling; and all follow the basic steps and adopt the "proper attitudes", which they have endorsed though annual repetition, that is through *embodied practice*, since an age they were more receptive to social conventions; and they do so – as they do also in other rituals of wide social significance, *e.g*. weddings, christenings and proper funerals – without trying to divert from the accepted social norm, no matter whether they believe in religion or not (for a detailed description of the *Epitaphios*, see Panourgia 1995, 152–7).

Why? What kind of bond or obligation brings such different people together in a ritual presided by a clergy which many (including devoted Christians) despise? What is the motive of somebody who identifies him/herself as a non-religious person to attend the process? Why is s/he emotionally involved? And, finally, what types of identity are projected in such a public performance?

These are the kind of questions borne out of a performative approach to ritual. Of course, no direct parallels can be drawn between ancient funerals and a modern symbolic rite, neither can we assume that prehistoric people linked death with religion so intimately as Christians do. Yet the *Epitaphios* presents interesting analogies to proper funerals mainly in its highly structured form and the ability to embed a variety of emotional reactions in a process of publicly affirming (or consecrating) death.

To address similar questions in archaeology, one needs to go beyond common interpretations of burials as reflectors of static social relations or "arenas of social competition". Such interpretations presuppose the existence of rigid social categories, which are both clearly demarcated and consisting of fully conscious social subjects. Yet, as the *Epitaphios* example suggests, social categorisations may fuse or dissolve during ritual practice, and identification may be more complex and flexible than usually thought. In other words, ritual may have itself an impact on social interaction and the configuration of social relations (Barrett 1994, 79–81; Voutsaki 1998, 44–5; Cohen 2005, 7–14). It is this dynamic aspect of ritual performance I wish to explore in the context of Early Mycenaean burials.

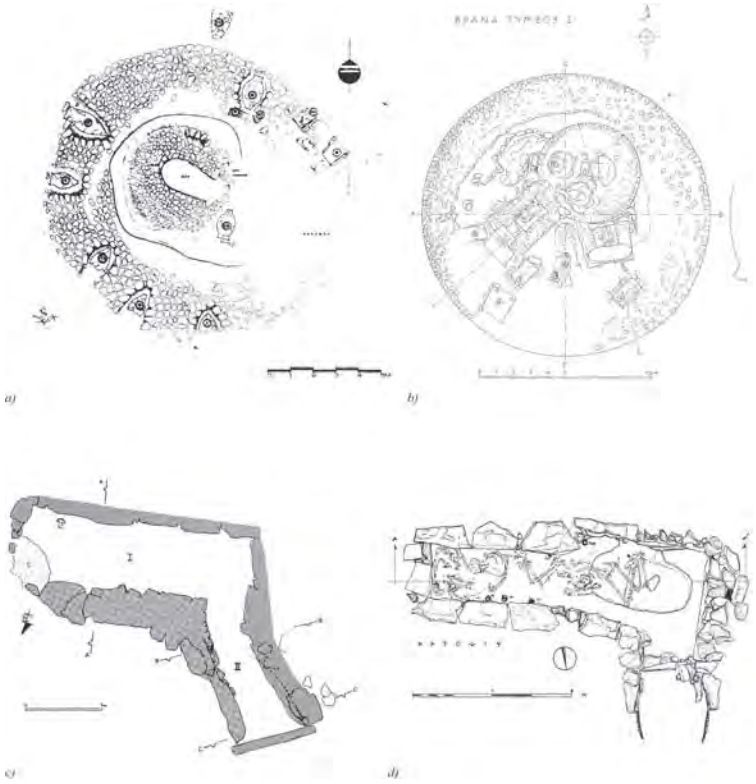
To appreciate the performative qualities of ritual, however, one has first to consider some basic concepts and principles of social behaviour, which defy notions of society as an exclusively competitive institution.

Ritual and identity

More than a century ago, Emile Durkheim suggested that the meaning of religion and ritual does not lie with their *contents* but with their *processes* and *structures*; that the object of religious reverence is not *the* or *a* god but society itself, and its main purpose the reproduction of social relations; and that rituals are not only meant to memorialise

events or mark passages in life but also – or primarily – to reaffirm the bonds of community, especially in moments of crisis, such as death (Durkheim 1912; Bell 1997, 24). In a similar line of thought, Arnold van Gennep argued that all *rites of passage* – including death rituals – have a common basic structure, which allows communities to legitimise changes in the social roles (and, thus, the identity) of individuals, while at the same time maintaining social cohesion by containing all types of emotional responses in a tripartite *schema* of separation, marginality and re-incorporation (van Gennep 1909; Goody 1962, 34–6).

Durkheimian anthropology established a link between ritual and identity, which became fundamental to any subsequent study. Of course, our understanding of identity has changed considerably since then. For example, it has been realised that identity is a *positional* or *relational* concept, *i.e*. a concept which cannot exist without differentiation and a notion of *alterity*; it is through reflection upon the *Other* that humans construct their individual or collective selves and define ideological boundaries around those constructs (Hall 1996). Yet, the realisation of difference generates also a sense of *similarity* or *conformity* with other people, and enhances the feeling of belonging to a group and sharing the rights and obligations this membership entails (Simon and Trötschel 2008, 102–8). Therefore, identity should not be seen as *either* a differentiating *or* a conforming concept; it is *both*. The most important consequence of such an understanding is that identity is an *interactive* concept, which can be created only within *social contexts*.



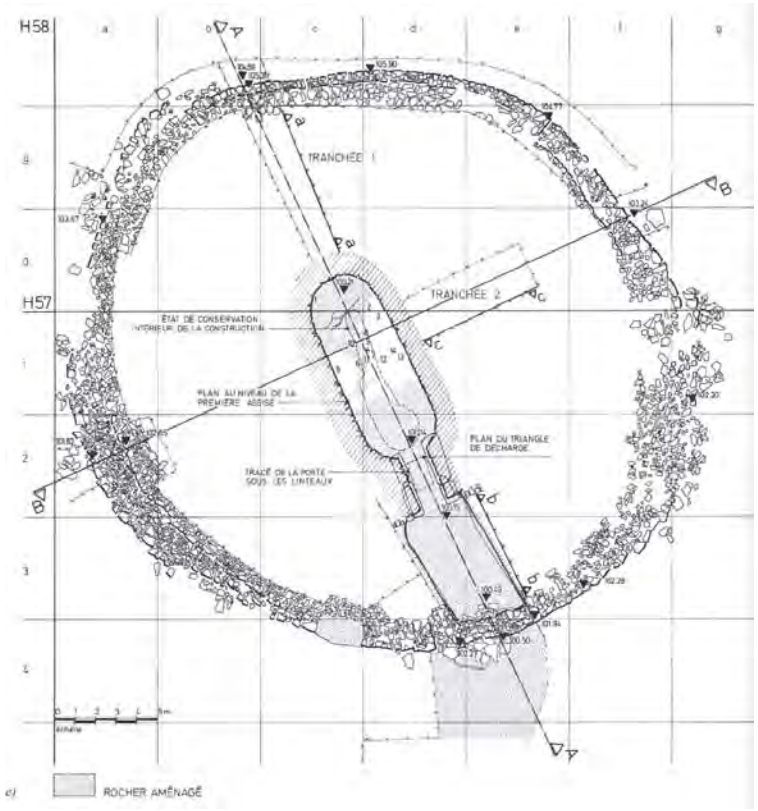


Figure 26.1: Examples of tombs with stomia and/or dromos-like arrangements certainly or probably pre-dating the introduction of tholoi and chamber tombs in the corresponding regions of Mainland Greece.
a) Messenia, Papoulia-Ag. Ioannis: tumulus with apsidal central structure (MH II–III) (after Korres 1978, 328, fig. 1; courtesy of the Athens Archaeological Society)
b) Attica, Marathon-Vrana: tumulus I with tomb 2 featuring a well-formed stomion (MH II) (after Marinatos 1970, 12, fig. 3; courtesy of the Athens Archaeological Society),
c) Euboea, Xeropolis: tomb with roofed dromos or vestibule (late MH) (after Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995, 43, fig. 2; courtesy of Dr. Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki),
d) Attica, Eleusis: grave Iπ1 with rudimentary stomion and dromos (MH III/LH I) (after Mylonas 1975, vol. B, 103, fig. 114; courtesy of the Athens Archaeological Society),
e) Attica, Thorikos: "oblong" tomb IV with stomion and short dromos (LH I/IIA) (after Servais and Servais-Soyez 1984, 22, fig. 8; courtesy of the Belgian School of Archaeology at Athens).

Of course, identity operates on individual level, too. In fact, personal identities can be extremely diverse and agile. This is so, however, because a sense of individuality derives from the combination of multiple "identities" created through membership in various social groupings, from family and kin associations to political and professional affiliations, each having its own codes of representation (Casella and Fowler 2005).

In funerals, now, representations are constructed by the burying groups, not the dead, and as such are more likely to promote collective values and interests, than recording the personal biography of the deceased (Hertz 1960, 55–7; Hallote 2002). For example, the way of commemorating dead soldiers in military cemeteries today (Kearl and Rinaldi 1983), and in some ancient cases (Arrington 2010), clearly reflects the ideology of collectivities on state level and is meant to advertise socially useful ideals rather than the character of individual combatants – many of whom might have preferred to be remembered without their military outfit and be buried with their families.

This is, of course, an exceptional case; but it suggests that what matters in public funerals is the representation of *selective social roles* rather than individual icons. The funeral is an abstraction, where the multiple identities of an individual are subsumed into an overarching image, aimed at emphasising a few socially meaningful qualities. Given that funerary representations may be further conditioned by normative conventions and cultural restrictions (Goody 1962, 42–3, 69–80), it is highly unlikely that they *can* reflect personal identity with any accuracy or that they *are meant* to do so in the first place. Funerary representations are ultimately more useful to the living members of the group and their social claims (Campbell 1969; Barrett 1994, 50–1) than to the deceased, whose personal story is probably known to the attendants (especially in small communities, like the Early Mycenaean ones) and need no further demonstration.

This might provide a possible explanation for the rather restricted range of attributes accompanying Early Mycenaean burials, which consisted mostly of high-quality jewellery, weapons, imported luxuries, and, occasionally, images of conflict or aggression carved on sealstones, ivories or metal vessels (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 50–5; Voutsaki 2010, 84–8). Interpreting all those buried with weapons and artistic representations of conflict as male warriors not only defies the fact that some of these attributes are also found with women (Drakaki 2011) and at least in one case with a child (buried with a sword in Argos grave 92, Protonotariou-Deilaki 2009, 163–8); it is also an essentialist approach, which ignores other "identities" of the dead and draws an odd picture of societies consisting of "too many warriors", to paraphrase the title of a famous article by James Whitley (2001, 97–8; 2002).

No doubt, funerary representations cannot be artificial or manipulated in an entirely arbitrary way. In fact, there are instances of high-status individuals, whose "identity" is portrayed in impressive detail, as we know from royal burials in Egypt and Mesopotamia or from epic narratives. Yet, when it comes to the study of *preliterate* societies (such as the Early Mycenaean one), where we can only rely on observable *patterns* of behaviour in order to acquire some sort of meaning, one should be cautious not to confuse cultural symbolisms and the representation of social ideals with the portrayal of individuals.

Early Mycenaean burial practices

Early Mycenaean burials are famous for their wealth and diversity. They are also known for the many innovations they brought to funerary behaviour, clearly attested in the impressive Grave Circles of Mycenae and the numerous tholoi and chamber tombs of the period (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 41–60). In brief, the transition from the Middle to the Late Bronze Age (*i.e*. the "Mycenaean" era) saw a shift from poor inhumations in small pit- and cist-graves (often intramural) to rich burials in elaborate collective tombs placed in public cemeteries. The social correlates of this transformation have been extensively studied: the introduction of collective tombs is thought to indicate a shift from corporate to family groupings (Wright 2008a), while ostentation and architectural elaboration are taken to reflect increasing social assymetries and competitions among early elite groups (*e.g.* Voutsaki 1993; 1998). By contrast, little attention has been paid to the changing layout of tombs and its impact on the *dynamics* of ritual (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 117–8; Boyd 2002, 95–6; Gallou 2005, 63–75).

As I have suggested elsewhere in detail (Papadimitriou 2011; 2015; forthcoming), the characteristic *dromos-stomion*-chamber layout of Mycenaean tombs did not appear spontaneously in the Late Helladic (LH) I period but came out of a long process of experimentation, which begun as soon as kin groups in mainland Greece started using collective tombs for their burials, in Middle Helladic (MH) III or possibly in MH II (Table 26.1). Rudimentary *stomia* and *dromos*-like passageways have been found in a number of late MH built tombs (or "built chamber tombs"), clearly predating the appearance of tholoi and earth-cut chamber tombs in LH I (Fig. 26.1 a–e; Papadimitriou 2001, 159–61, 166–8; 2015, 86–7). This suggests an early preoccupation with the *system of access* and the desire to test various solutions. Experimentation took its more intense form in LH I, when a wide range of collective tomb-types were used all over mainland Greece (*e.g.* shaft graves, apsidal and rectangular built chamber tombs, tholoi, earth-cut chamber tombs, and small tholos-like tombs), only a few of which were provided with *dromoi*, rarely longer than 8 m and usually shorter (Papadimitriou 2015, 98–101, 107–13). It was only in LH IIA, that the system of access was crystallised and *dromoi* started becoming longer, often exceeding 20 m in length – and even more in later times (Fig. 26.2).

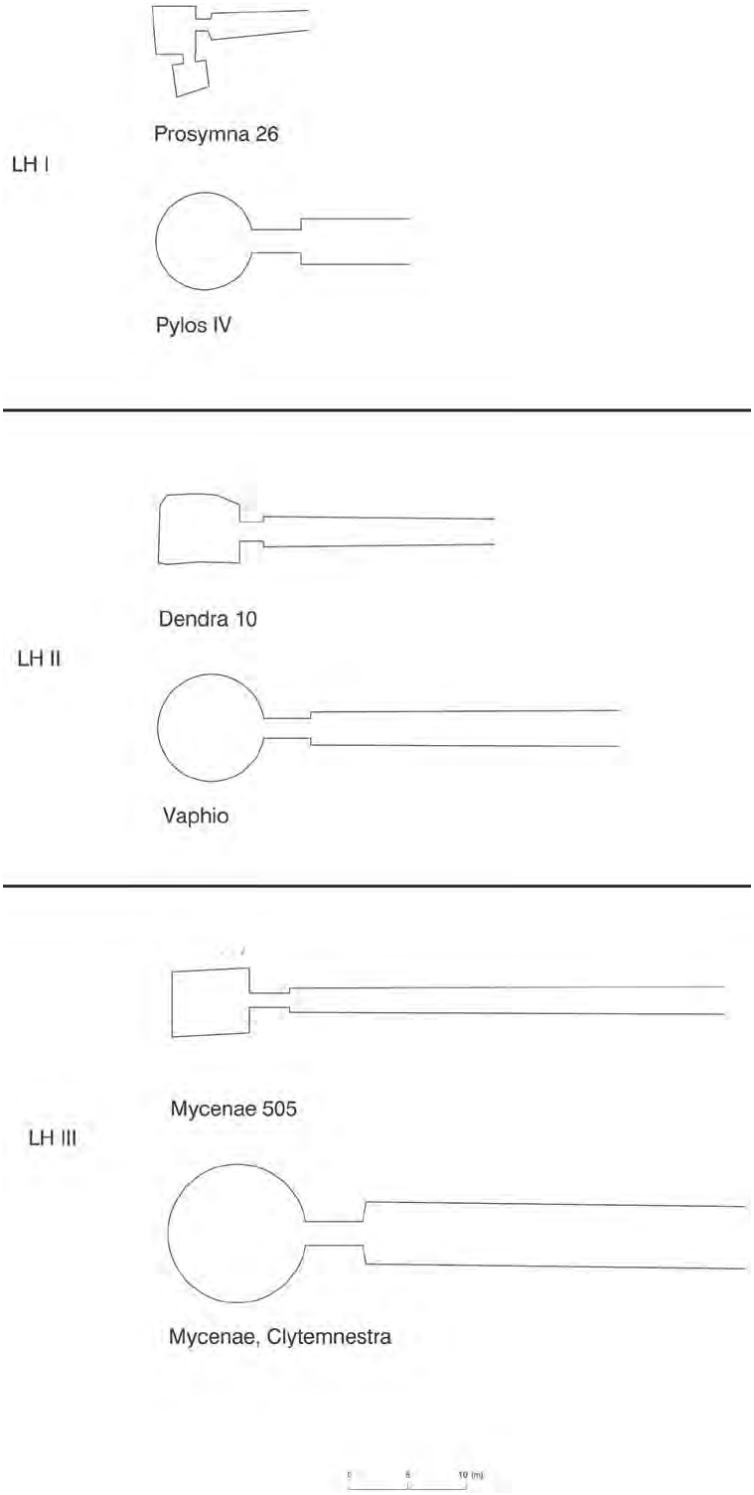


Figure 26.2: Chamber tombs and tholoi with the longest known dromoi in LH I, LH II and LH III respectively (drawn by the author after Papadimitriou 2011, 479, fig. 3).

Once the system of access was standardised, *dromoi* became the *foci* of ritual performance, gradually appropriating activities previously held in open spaces (Papadimitriou 2015, 102–3). At the same time (especially in LH IIA), the ceramic apparatus of tombs was significantly enhanced with ceremonial vessels (*rhyta*), drinking vases possibly used for ritual purposes (some of which were smashed in front of the tomb entrances), containers for oils and unguents probably for the anointment of the dead, symbolic vessels (*e.g.* palatial jars), etc. (Papadimitriou forthcoming, fig. 4). These finds, together with fire remains and animal bones found both in the *dromos* and the chamber of some tombs (Gallou 2005, 120–2; Fox 2012, 10–2), suggest a process of increasing *ritualisation* of the funerary process and possibly a desire for more exclusive forms of representation for kin groups.

This was probably connected with the transformations Helladic communities underwent in that period, including a rise in population, settlement nucleation, increasing contacts with the (culturally more advanced) Cycladic and Minoan societies, and the development of more complex forms of social organisation (Wright 2008b).

The establishment of organised extra-mural *cemeteries* from MH II/III onwards (to be distinguished from *tumuli*, some of which may date back to MH I; Papadimitriou, forthcoming) entailed the distancing of the dead from the space of the living, and may have created the need for sharper demarcation of group identities and, perhaps, the demonstration of kinship relations in formalised public events and rituals.

Performance and communication

Increasing formalisation of ritual (*i.e*. *ritualisation*) created new communicative possibilities for those performing the funerals. Catherine Bell, in her detailed study of ritual practices, defined ritualisation as "a way of acting that distinguishes itself from other ways of acting in the very way it does what it does" and associated this with the construction of special spaces, which impose themselves to the participants (who have actually created them), while allowing them to experience fundamental cultural values through bodily movements (Bell 1997, 81–2).

Dromoi provided the Early Mycenaeans with special performative contexts for funerary rituals (cf. Boyd 2014). Despite initial variations in design, such contexts became soon (by LH IIA) standardised, channelling ritual activities into a highly regulated final ceremonial procession, to which only members of the burying group probably had access (Papadimitriou 2015, 94–7). Although such activities were probably meant to raise ancestral memories and emphasise links to the past (since the tomb contained the remains of earlier members of the kin), their stereotyped reoccurrence helped also to create *living memories of shared experiences* to the participants. This was important for matters of collective identification. Like the annual repetition of the *Epitaphios* instils socially accepted norms of behaviour and specific worldviews to the attendants in ways that are non-conscious and invested with heightened emotions, so *dromos* rituals allowed for the embodiment of collective values and ideas through repetitive, habitual action in a highly structured landscape which stimulated multifaceted sensory experiences (cf. Bell 1997, 159–61; Inomata and Coben 2006, 21–5; Hamilakis 2014, chap. 5). By performing libations, feasting, fire ceremonies, and other actions in the limited space of the *dromos*, the burying group (most probably including members of the close kin) acquired shared memories, which through repetition gave rise not only to a common view of the past, but also to a common *way of recalling and interpreting the past*. This is what the sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel has termed a "mnemonic tradition", which is inherently associated with the collective representations and the identity of a "mnemonic community" (2003, 4–5). Constructing distinct mnemonic traditions may have been crucial for kin groups in Early Mycenaean times; for this was a period of social change and settlement nucleation, during which smaller communities coalesced into larger agglomerations, and power relations were extensively renegotiated (Papadimitriou, forthcoming). In such conditions of flux, the past emerged as an important ideological resource, upon which competing groups could build their collective identities and base their social claims.

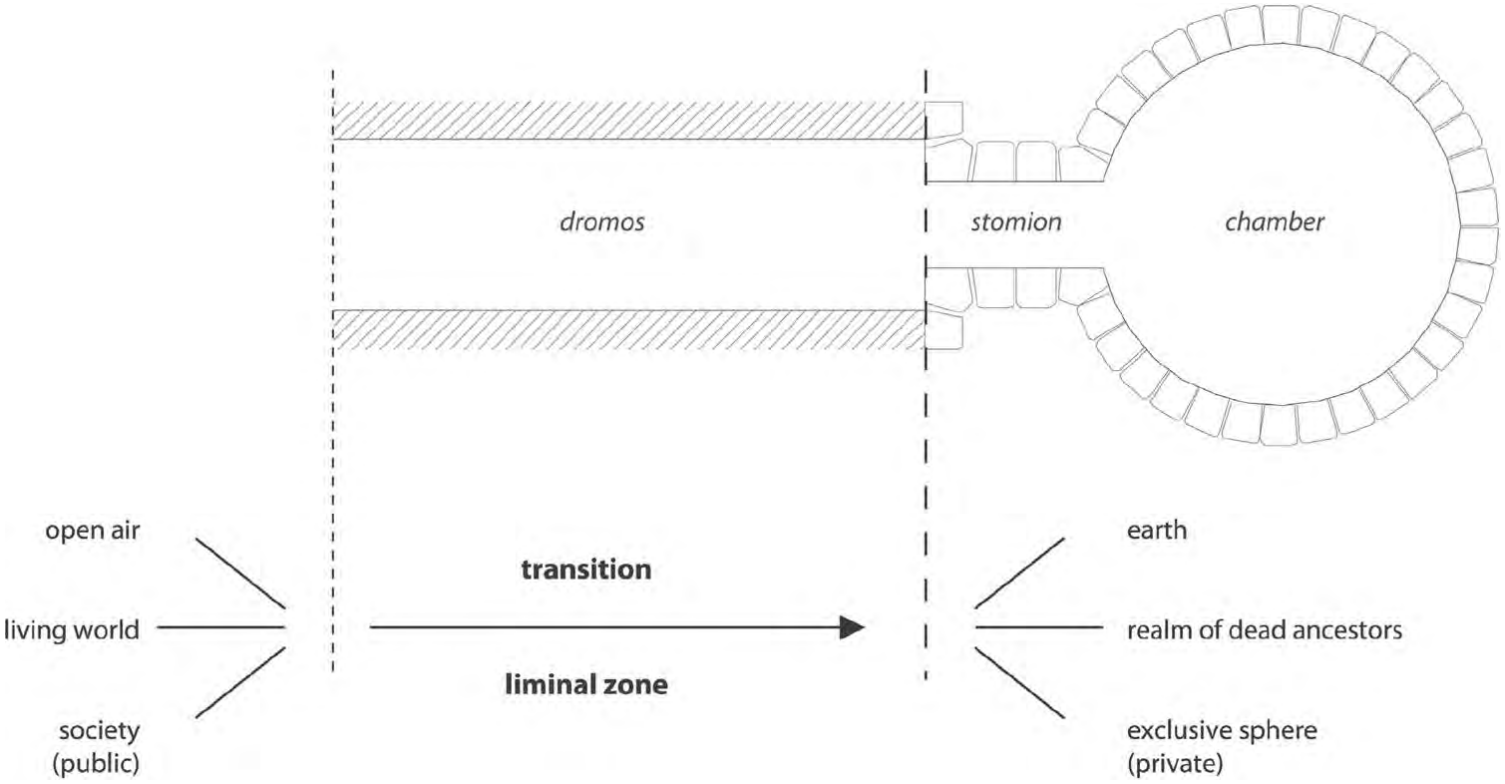


Figure 26.3: The liminal character of the dromos in Mycenaean tombs (drawn by the author).

The intricate relation between ritual, memory and identity has been discussed by several scholars, most eloquently by Paul Connerton, who has stressed: (a) that ritual repetition implies continuity with the past, and (b) that collective values and memories can be sedimented in bodily behaviour through *incorporating* and *inscribing* practices, the former referring to rituals, the latter to visual and literary forms of communication; in rituals, memory and tradition get passed on in non-textual and non-cognitive ways, through bodily automatisms (Connerton 1989, 72–3).

Jan Assmann has also argued that rituals in oral societies function as mediums of memory, *i.e.* data-storage systems or "cultural texts" aimed at reproducing accepted world-views and social relations (Assmann 1992; 2006, 123–4). His thesis has been based on the anthropological observation that oral cultures try to counter-balance the risk of inefficient memory of individuals by socialising the process of remembering through embedding it in regular ritual performances (Fentress and Wickham 1992, 45–9, 79; Assmann 2006, 124). In that way, cultural resources are preserved and transmitted in an *incorporated* form (Bourdieau 1977, 186–7). This is an essential aspect of social embodiment.

Ritualisation has one more interesting aspect. According to Mary Douglas (2002, 55, 74–5, 162), increasing formality in ritual accentuates the normative character of communication codes and the associated modes of symbolic representation; on one hand, this facilitates social identification but, on the other, it imposes a rigid *system of classification*, which allows for bodily and, by consequence, social control. As Catherine Bell observes (1992, 101–4), such classificatory systems are often expressed through *binary oppositions*, which help the performing group to differentiate from the rest of the community by means of *liminal symbolisms* while, at the same time, internalising its own hierarchical structure by means of *physical movements*.

Dromos rituals had a strong liminal character, probably meant to emphasise a number of symbolic transitions and oppositions (Fig. 26.3): between the open air and the earth; between the world of the living and that of the dead; between the public space of the community and the exclusive sphere of the kin group, *i.e.* the world of ancestors. Such oppositional schemes, which were mobilised as participants moved through space, must have affected various levels of individual and collective perception. For, while the earlier stages of the funeral process probably involved a large number of attendants (Boyd 2014, 197–8), the final rituals were performed in the enclosed space of the *dromos*, which restricted participation and the *flow of information* to the members of the burying group, and was increasingly invisible from outside (for Mycenaean tombs were built underground and *dromos*' walls grew higher as one approached the entrance). This must have unconsciously evoked a sense of belonging and togetherness among

participants, while at the same time legitimising their hierarchical interrelations, as expressed by the structured form of the *dromos* procession. On the other hand, the demarcation of the performing space with liminal features (such as small blocking walls built at the beginning of *dromoi*; see Papadimitriou 2015, 93–4) communicated messages of exclusiveness to the rest of the community. In that sense, formalised *dromos* rituals may have contributed both to the embodiment of distinct group identities and to the emergence of sharper hierarchies *within* groups in Early Mycenaean times (Voutsaki 1998, 46). Working in a complex way, the relational/positional aspects of identity may have generated at the same time sentiments of conformity and differentiation.

A performative analysis allows us, also, to appreciate the importance of *innovations*, which were so pronounced in Early Mycenaean funerals. Sofia Voutsaki has argued that the novel practice of depositing valuables with the dead in that period should not be uncritically interpreted as an effort to *confer* status to the deceased through the amassment of wealth, since there was no precedent to such an attitude; it was the very action of ritually and publicly "destroying" inalienable items that invested them with symbolic value and *created* prestige through practice (Voutsaki 1998, 44–6). Similarly, *dromos* rituals may have not had pre-set meaning, but acquired social connotations through performance.

Other innovations of that period included the embellishment of the corpse with symbolic attributes, the proliferation of representational imagery on sealstones and other media, and the decoration of tomb facades with painted motifs from LH IIA onwards (Gallou 2005, 67–70; Sgouritsa 2011). All these changes suggest increasing emphasis on *visual* representations, perhaps reflecting the emergence of more complex forms of symbolic interaction and the gradual transition from Connerton's incorporating to inscribing methods of collective remembering (1989, 72–3).

Epilogue

Dromoi can offer interesting insights into social and cognitive developments in Early Mycenaean times if examined as performative spaces. I have argued that the performance of rituals in a highly structured environment facilitated both the formation of collective identities through processes of shared remembering, and the development of hierarchical relations within and between groups through the embodiment of common systems of social classification. This was a process of constant negotiation, which activated new agents in the form of kin groups detaching from previously undifferentiated communities, and was not completed until LH IIIA, when collective tombs with *dromoi* became the dominant form of funerary abode in the Aegean (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 103). The eventual adoption of such tombs and the associated practices by larger segments of the population in LH III, however, may have led to one more change, *i.e*. the rise of a shared *cultural* identity among the inhabitants of mainland Greece. If so, this would be one more manifestation of the dynamic character of ritual.

The above discussion may also provide some clues as to why such diverse audiences attend the *Epitaphios* process nowadays: because complex rituals provide possibilities of social interaction, which is otherwise difficult; they mediate a plurality of religious, social and cultural messages; they eradicate conflict even if temporarily; and they reaffirm membership in a group. It would be fitting to close by recalling the words of Stanley Tambiah, who has studied extensively the performative aspects of ritual, and talked about "the pleasure of self-surrender" in the constraints of formalised performance, and the role of ritual in attaching "permanence and legitimacy to … social constructs", articulating emotions into a "a disciplined rehearsal of 'right attitudes'", and subordinating individual ideas "to a collective representation" (Tambiah 1981, 113, 123, 126, 141).

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27

Burning People, Breaking Things: Material Entanglements, the Bronze Age/Iron Age Transition and the Homeric Dividual

James Whitley

In an interview with the *Guardian* newspaper in 2011, Mr Boris Johnson, the classically-educated Mayor of London, was asked whether he had found the job at all difficult. He replied with a quotation that obviously baffled the reporter: 'τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη; καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης,' (Homer, *Odyssey*, 20.18).

The context is the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus is disguised as a beggar in his own palace in Ithaka, and recalls a worse time, when he was in Polyphemos' cave. Johnson was indicating that he had indeed found the job of mayor trying – but that he had seen worse [κύντερον] – and he mustn't complain. But he was also, inadvertently, drawing attention to one of the key features of Homeric speech – the tendency of heroes to address not themselves, but their parts (heart, liver, or spirit), in this case in the second person. This tendency was once a hot topic in Classical studies. Did Homeric heroes have a proper sense of self? The distinguished German classical scholar Bruno Snell thought not (Snell 1975, 17). Snell saw representations of bodies in the Geometric period (that is, bodies in Geometric art) as being not bodies at all, but assemblages of parts.

In a similar vein, E. R. Dodds (1951, 1–27) explored the tendency of Homeric heroes to place moral responsibility for actions that go badly wrong not on themselves but on outside agents. When Agamemnon apologises to Achilles for seizing Briseis (the action that provokes the "wrath of Achilles", which is the main motor of the plot of the *Iliad*), he claims that it wasn't *him*, it was this *ate* [madness] sent to him from Zeus that *made* him do it (*Iliad*, 19.86–90). Now this school of thought – the idea that, in the world of Homer, there was no unified sense of either the body (*soma*) or the self – remains controversial. The philosopher Bernard Williams (1993) argued strenuously that these peculiarities of Homeric speech are just that – *façons de parler* no more. The Homeric self, the Homeric individual is for Williams not substantially different from the modern one, and remains the locus of moral responsibility and moral agency.

I beg to differ. I agree with Dodds and Snell, and so disagree with the current consensus within Homeric literary scholarship (*e.g.* Finkelberg 2012). Homeric heroes and speakers are not individuals, in the modern, Euro-American sense. Contemporary personhood (*sensu* Fowler 2004; 2010) and Homeric personhood are quite different. Moreover, not only are modern forms of personhood absent in Homer, so are particular kinds of agency (*sensu* Gell 1998). In Homer, agency and personhood are closely connected. In key respects, Homer's heroes have much in common with that anthropological entity, the "dividual", thought to inhabit either Melanesia (Strathern 1988, 13; cf. Whitley 2013, 396–8) or India (Busby 1997). In all three cases there are significant similarities in their

"human-thing entanglements" (*sensu* Hodder 2011). Homer's protagonists, like Melanesian dividuals, act within complex reciprocities of gender and artefacts. Like "ethnographic" Melanesians and Polynesians, the lives of Homeric heroes are inseparably linked to particular objects with extended biographies. Examples are many, but one particularly pertinent to my argument is the exchange between Odysseus and Meriones (*Il.* 10.260–71; see Hainsworth 1993, 178–81), in which Odysseus is given a helmet made from boars' tusks. This helmet was given to Odysseus by Meriones, who was given it by Molos, who was given it by Amphidamas, who in turn was given it by Autolykos, who took it from Amyntor. In this way, the helmet travels from Eleon (in Boeotia), to Kythera, to Crete, to Troy and (perhaps) Ithaka (see Borchhardt 1972, 81, fig. 7). The description is full enough (and the object itself sufficiently unusual) for there to be no doubt that it refers to a type of helmet that turns up in tombs, first on the Greek mainland (from Late Helladic [LH] I to Late Helladic III), and then in Crete, in the Late Bronze Age. Indeed, for Homeric scholars it remains the only artefact whose description places it firmly in the Bronze and not the Iron Age. While the artefact type does certainly originate in the Late Bronze Age, the form of material entanglement this description represents must belong to a later period, to the very end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age. Indeed, the boar's tusk helmet is one of a range of antiques whose exotic origin, context and deposition illustrates precisely such "material entanglements", which can be dated fairly confidently to the period 1150–900 BC (that is, the beginning of the Iron Age). But first I want to clear up a misconception that has become embedded in the literature.

When such antiques as the boar's tusk helmet or Cypriot bronze tripods or stands appear in the archaeological record they are often referred to as "heirlooms" (*e.g.* Catling 1984). Well, heirlooms are certainly old, but they have to be inherited. That is, they have to pass down within the same family, and be associated in some way with the transfer of power, authority and wealth. There is only one heirloom in Homer and that is Agamemnon's sceptre (*Il.* 2.100–9). It was made by Hephaistos, given to Zeus, then to Hermes, thence to Pelops, then to Atreus, then Thyestes and then to Agamemnon. Its genealogy then both describes and legitimises the authority that Agamemnon holds over other Achaean rulers – and then abuses in his seizure of Achilles' concubine, Briseis. The description of the object itself however (*Il*. 1.234–9) is perfunctory. It is wood, covered in bronze – which hardly ties it down to any particular period.

But if there are few heirlooms (in the narrow sense) there are plenty of objects with extended biographies (*sensu* Kopytoff 1986; see Crierlaard 2003; Grethlein 2008) in Homer. What is striking about such descriptions is that it not so much the object itself but its successive "entanglements" (*sensu* Thomas 1991) that are emphasised. The account of the boar's tusk helmet is, in this sense, typical. Other examples might include the [silver] krater that Menelaus gives to Telemachus (*Od.* 4.613–19; 15.113–19) and the silver krater that Achilles sets up as a prize for the funeral games of Patroklos both have elaborate genealogies whose origin lies in the Near East (*Il*. 23.740–9). Achilles' prize was made by Sidonians, and brought over by Phoenicians, who gave it to Thoas. Euenos, the son of Priam, gave it as a ransom for Lykaon to Patroklos – and at the end of the race it is won by Odysseus. These objects then are not straightforward gifts, but exemplify the mutual entanglement of high-status persons with things. The kraters and the boar's tusk helmet are given with the expectation that they will be passed on, not to heirs, but to other persons of equivalent status within this Homeric, East Mediterranean "interaction sphere". The heroes partake, to some degree, of the properties of the thing, and the object re-capitulates the history of several persons over several generations.

Such objects are not then heirlooms (*pace* Lillios 1999), though they are invariably antiques. They also play an important role in Homeric narrative (Grethlein 2008). That the life of an object and a person, and the narrative of the *Iliad* in particular are mutually entangled can be seen when we look at Homeric mortuary practices. As Lorimer (1950, 103–10) recognised, "Homeric" mortuary practices (particularly the practice of cremation) clearly have nothing to do with the Mycenaean Bronze Age, when multiple inhumations in chamber tombs were the norm. And Homeric funerals are fully described. The event that brings closure to the narrative of the *Iliad* is the funeral of Hector (the indirect object of Achilles' wrath; *Il*. 24.790–804). Hector's body is thoroughly burnt, his white bones gathered up and wrapped in purple cloth, and placed in a gold *larnax*. A hole is dug for this, stones are placed over it, and a mound (*sema*) erected. Patroklos' funeral is more elaborate, more ostentatiously destructive (*Il.* 23.161–261). The body is cremated on a high pyre, and this is accompanied by the sacrifice of sheep, cattle, dogs, horses and twelve Trojan captives. After the pyre has thoroughly burnt Patroklos' body, his white bones are gathered

up in cloth, and placed in a gold *phiale*, over which a mound is raised.

Such elaborate funerals do find parallels in the Aegean Iron Age, most famously at Lefkandi Toumba, where we have a male "warrior" cremation placed in an antique Cypriot bronze amphoroid krater (Fig. 27.1), accompanied by a woman who (may) have been sacrificed, and some horses that certainly were (Popham *et al.* 1993; see also Blome 1984). A tumulus was later placed over the unfinished "heröon" in which the burials were interred. These burials date to around 950 BC, and are perhaps the most obviously "Homeric" burials we find in the Greek archaeological sequence. The amphoroid krater, in which the cremated remains of the male warrior were placed, is clearly an exotic antique (Catling 1993). Its best parallels date to the very end of the Bronze Age (12th century BC) and are to be found, not in Sidon, but in tomb 40 in the Episkopi-*Kaloriziki* cemetery at Kourion on Cyprus: Tomb 40, 11 (McFadden 1954, 132; Catling 1964, 157, no. 1; Matthäus 1985, 228, no. 525) and Tomb 40, 37 (McFadden 1954, 140–1; Catling 1964, 158–9, no. 3; Matthäus 1985, 228–9, no. 526). The Toumba krater must then have been at least a 100 years old (that is 3–4 generations) at the time of its deposition. It was not the only such Cypriot krater to have been used to hold the cremated remains of a warrior – another example, also used as a cremation urn to hold the ashes of a man, is to be found in the Late Subminoan/Early Protogeometric tholos tomb (*c*. 975 BC) at Pantanassa in the Amari valley of Crete (Tegou 2001; cf. Kanta 2003, 181–2).

Figure 27.1: The top of the amphoroid krater from the male grave underneath the "heröon" at Lefkandi, Toumba (after Popham et al. 1993, pl. 19; courtesy of the British School at Athens).

But there remains a problem. Whether either of these bronze vessels might be called amphoras or kraters, neither is gold and neither is obviously a *phiale*. This may not be a fatal objection: for in another passage, at the end of the *Odyssey* (24.72–84) it is stated that, when Achilles died, his white, burnt bones were placed in a gold amphora, mixed with those of Patroklos. This amphora was made by Hephaistos, and was a gift from Dionysos at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (Achilles' mortal father and immortal mother). Many scholars have argued that the gold *phiale* in which Patroklos is interred and the gold amphora given as a wedding gift are one and the same (Rumpf 1953; Burgess 2009, 98–100). In other words, the burial amphora is another entangled object, the end of whose life coincides with the death of a warrior/hero.

Ostentatious destruction, cremation of male bodies, accompanied by close links with exotic antiques, seems to be a pattern found both in the Iron Age and in Homer. It was not then warriors that were new in the Iron Age –

graves with weapons, usually dubbed "warrior graves" are to be found, first on the mainland and then Crete, from the time of the Shaft Graves onwards (Karo 1930–3; cf. Malafouris 2008; Molloy 2012, 119–21; Harrell 2014). Rather it was the particular association of ostentatious destruction with a particular kind of "warrior" masculinity (Whitley 2002), a pattern that becomes particularly evident during the 10th and 9th century BC. Examples other than Lefkandi might include the "warrior" graves of tenth and ninth century Athens, such as the famous example from the Areopagus (Fig. 27.2), where bodies have not only been burnt, but also swords have been bent around the cremation urn (Blegen 1952; D'Onofrio 2011). Here, ostentatious destruction of objects was part of a gendered polarity, with children at one pole and adult male warriors at the other, a polarity that is particularly clear in Athens around 950–850, but can also be paralleled elsewhere in the Iron Age Aegean (Whitley 2000).

Where does this shift in "material entanglements" begin? Let us go back to our boar's tusk helmet. The majority of these are to be found firmly in the Bronze Age (Borchhardt 1972, 18–37, 47–52). But there are two chronological outliers, in two distinct parts of the Aegean where the Mycenaean tradition of burial with weapons does not simply continue, but undergoes significant changes in the years after 1200 BC. Tomb B at Kallithea-Spenzes (Yalouris 1960, 44; cf. Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 160–1) datable to around 1150 BC is one of the many Late Helladic IIIC "warrior graves" to be found in Achaia in the northwest Peloponnese at the very end of the Bronze Age (Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 154–61; Eder 2006, 557–9). This tomb contains tusks, apparently from such a helmet.

The last known example however comes from Crete. The evidence comprises the fragments 201.f13 associated with the cremations in Tomb 201 in the 200–202 "pit cave" grave complex in the North Cemetery at Knossos (Fig. 27.3). The complex is dated, on the basis of its associated pottery, to the very end of Late Minoan (LM) IIIC and the transition to Subminoan (that is the beginning of the Iron Age, *c*. 1100 BC; Catling 1995; 1996a, 534–5; 1996b, 305–7; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 191–5). Catling interprets these fragments as a helmet, which he refers to as an "heirloom". We do not have a whole helmet, but just bits of it, and it is likely that by 1150 BC any such helmets must be antiques.[1] Other objects in the grave that had also been "fragmented" include a bronze Naue II sword, broken in four pieces (201–02.f7; Catling 1996a, 518–20; Coldstream and Catling 1996, 194–5). But the prize for the most ostentatious form of destruction of an "entangled object" that accompanied the male "warrior grave" is won by a four-sided Cypriot bronze stand (KNC 201.f1; Fig. 27.4). Hector Catling described the fragments as a "ruin", whose state could only be explained by its being placed on the funeral pyre itself (Catling 1996a, 517–8; 201.f1; Pappasavvas 2001, 82–4, 241–2, no. 26). This type of stand is well-known from numerous examples from Cyprus (see Catling 1964, 207–10; Matthäus 1985, 316–21; Pappasavvas 2001, 140–6, 239–46). Its iconographic and technical best parallel is the Buccleuch stand (known to come from Cyprus) now in the British Museum (BM 1946/10–17/1; Catling 1964, 208, no. 36; Matthäus 1985, 316–18, no. 706; Pappasavvas 2001, 242–3, no. 28). On this basis, the stand from the North Cemetery must have been at least 50 years old by the time of its deposition.

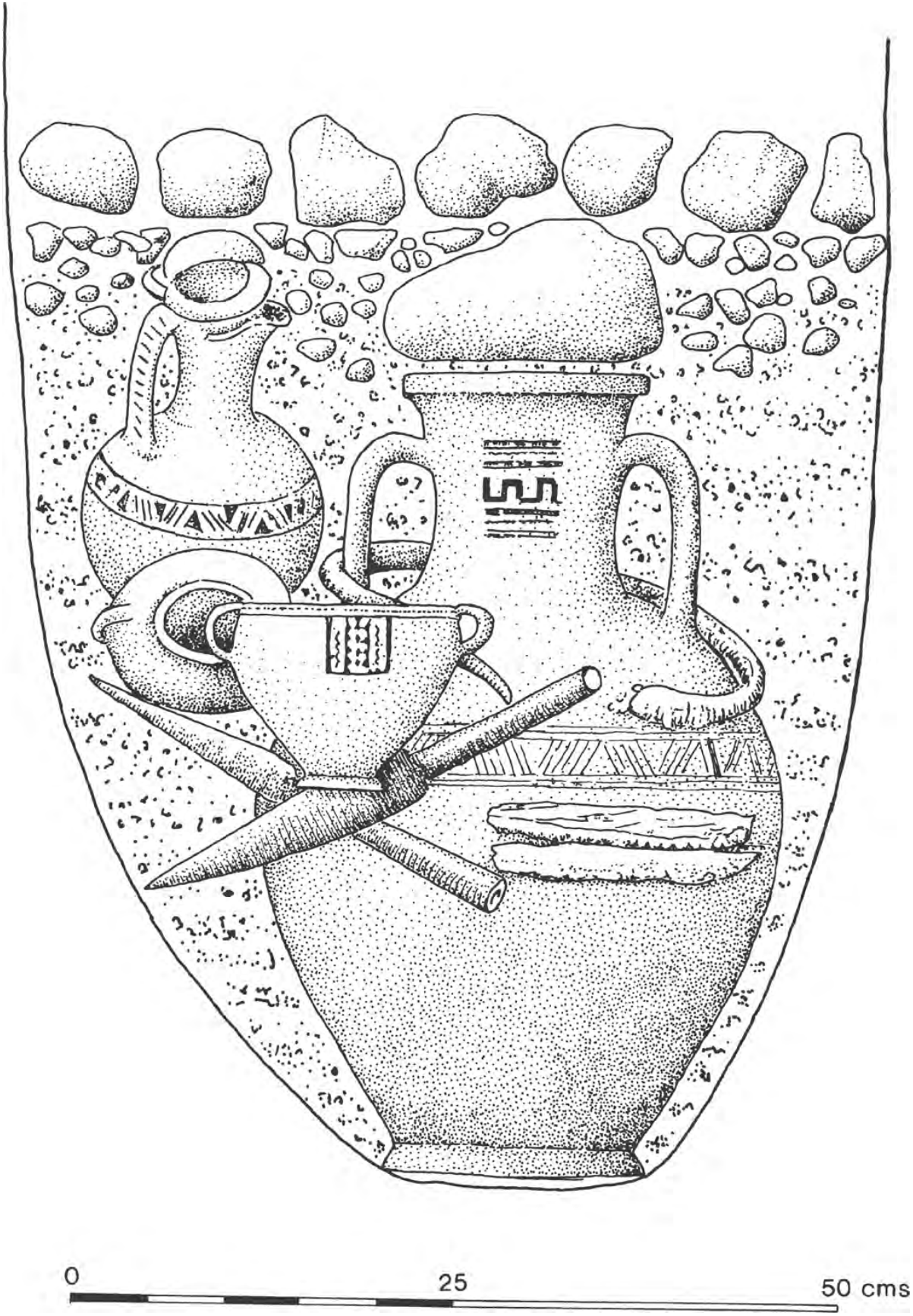

Figure 27.2: Section drawing of the "Areopagus Warrior grave" D 16.4 (after Blegen 1952, redrawn by H. Mason).

This burial, along with those from Pantanassa and Lefkandi, Toumba, best represents the new form of material entanglements, and new sense of self, characteristic both of Homer and of the Iron Age Aegean. This new form is characterised by a (male) person's relationship with an exotic, antique object that had undergone a long history of exchanges. The biographies, the stories of previous owners become part of both the object and the person, and the narrative of a male person's (or hero's) life story is ended by a process of ostentatious destruction of both body and "entangled object" in a funeral ceremony. These new material entanglement and forms of personhood then required

a new form of burial "rite" – cremation.

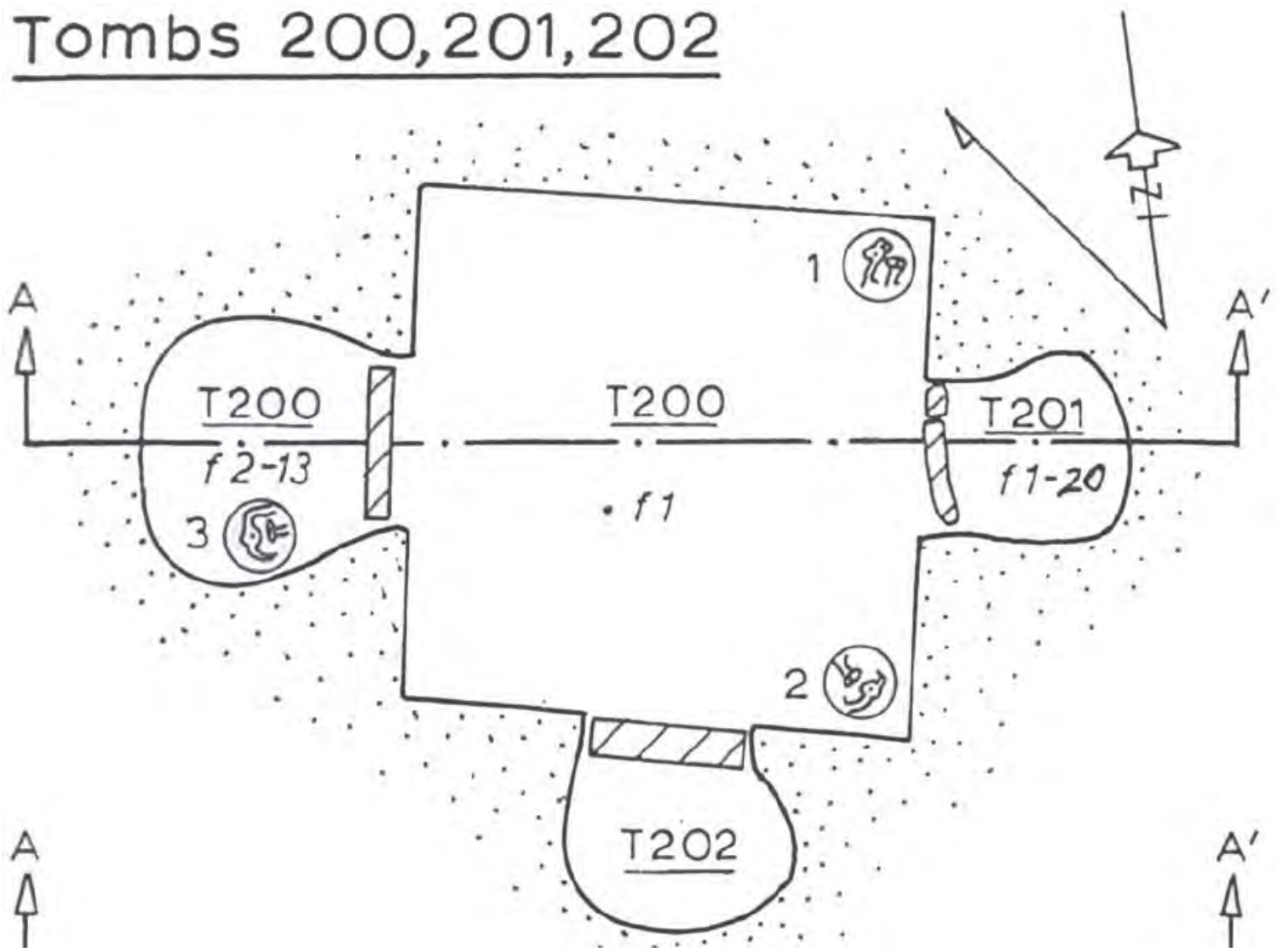

Figure 27.3: Grave 201-02 complex from the North Cemetery in Knossos, datable to the Subminoan period (after Coldstream and Catling 1996, fig. 43, courtesy of the British School at Athens).

There is a longstanding debate about the origins of cremation in the Aegean at the end of the Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age. Contrary to earlier beliefs, there is no evidence that cremation is associated with "Dorians". The practice appears to begin in Asia Minor (Lemos 2002, 186–7; Dickinson 2006, 73, 180–9) and then spreads. But this picture of a rite "spreading" from a single point of origin might be too simple. In Crete cremation may have developed out of an older practice of the ritual burning of buildings (Haggis 2013). There is increasing evidence that cremation was first practised in the eastern part of the island of Crete and much earlier than we once thought (Kanta 2001; 2003, 180–1; Tsipopoulou and Little 2001; Deger-Jalkotzy 2006, 163–5; McGeorge 2009, 41). Some adult cremations such as the one at Plakalona, Tourloti dating to the very beginning of LM IIIC or even to LM IIIB (McGeorge 2009; Paschalides 2009) – and some (such as those from Olous) might be even earlier (Kanta 2001). By the end of LM IIIC there is evidence for inurned cremation, most spectacularly in the highly decorated LM IIIC krater from Mouliana tholos tomb A (Xanthoudides 1904, 22–38). Burning bodies in this way, and then placing them in urns, is then a practice that begins in the "Eteocretan" East of Crete before it spreads westwards. Cremation is not something brought in to Knossos by "intrusive elements" (*contra* Catling 1995). It is rather this new sense of personhood that really causes cremation to take hold in the Early Iron Age. More importantly, this form of material entanglement is not to be found in the Bronze Age, either in Crete or on the mainland.

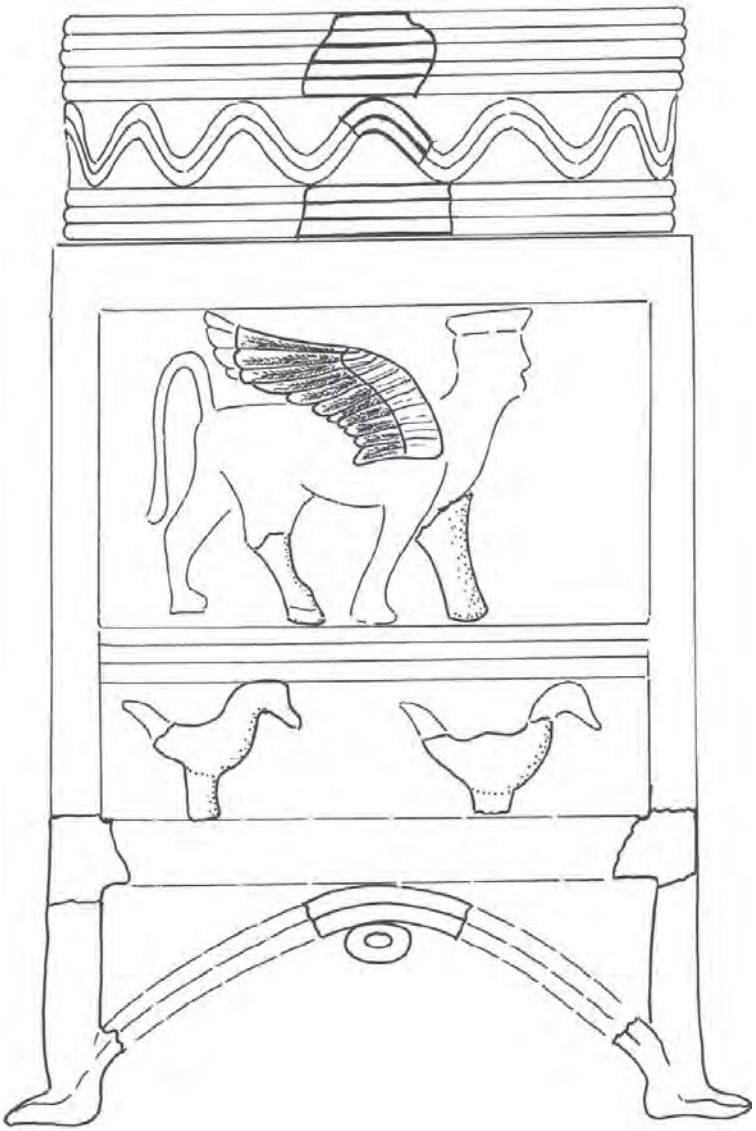

Figure 27.4: Reconstructed Cypriot four-sided stand KNC 201.f1 from the 201-02 complex (scale 2:3) (after Coldstream and Catling 1996, fig. 166, courtesy British School at Athens).

Before I elaborate this, I want to deal with two possible objections. One relates particularly to tomb 201–02. This burial, while a cremation, is not placed in "Homeric" fashion under a tumulus, but in a pit-cave (the terms is Evans' [1905]). In this respect, it looks back to earlier LM II–IIIA burials in the Zafer Papoura cemetery. I don't disagree – but rather would simply say that what I want to emphasise is what the practices look forward to, which is the Iron Age. The second objection is the fact that we have fragmentation in the Bronze Age. In Neopalatial Crete, as Paul Rehak (1995) has observed, highly crafted stone rhyta tend to be found not whole, but in many fragments, as if they had been "killed" at the end of their social life. I agree, and would indeed go further – the more complex and highly crafted the object in MM III–LM Ib Crete, the more likely it is to be found in many pieces, to have been highly fragmented. Examples from Koehl's (2006) comprehensive catalogue of all Bronze Age (stone and ceramic) rhyta support Rehak's thesis. Elaborate, broken examples of stone rhyta include the boxer rhyton (Koehl 2006, no. 651) and "Harvester Vase" (*ibid.*, 110), both from Ayia Triada, the Zakros rhyton (*ibid.*, 204) and smaller examples from Knossos (*ibid.*, 111 and 112) and Palaikastro (*ibid.*, 772).[2] So, while we have fragmentation, we do not seem to have fragmentation with cremation, or fragmented objects accompanying burnt and fragmented bodies in Neopalatial Crete. Nor is there any close association between the biography of an object and the biography of a person. Instead fragments of rhyta are found in pieces in such contexts as wells. Whatever these material entanglements were, they are not in any sense "Homeric". To be sure, after Neopalatial times in LM III the practice of fragmentation changes (Soles 1999) to resemble something much closer to what we see in Knossos. But this fact hardly undermines my argument.

What then of the mainland? In particular, what of the Shaft Graves (Karo 1930–3), which have looked very

"Homeric" to many scholars over successive generations? Well it is true that, in the Shaft graves in particular, and in Mycenaean burial practices generally, there are numerous objects made of exotic materials (such as amber or ostrich eggs), some of which may have had extended genealogies (as John Bennet [2004] has argued). But there is no close association with the biography of an object and a person, and clearly no need for ostentatious destruction. Indeed, what seems to characterise the "warrior graves" of the LH I–II Argolid is not so much destruction, but redundancy (Whitley 2002). Men are buried whole, with not one weapon, but with several, and not only in the Shaft Graves (where 42 swords have been found in Shaft Grave IV; Harrell 2014, 4–6), but also in other "Royal Tombs" in the area, such as those at Dendra (Persson 1931, 16; Åström 1977). This speaks of a very different kind of material entanglement to the ones we find in Iron Age Lefkandi, Knossos or Athens. Homeric material entanglements begin with Tomb 201, and belong to the Iron Age.

This was to have momentous consequences. If we, following Ian Hodder (2011), are to write human history in terms of a series of "material entanglements", then it was these Homeric entanglements that made the realisation of Mediterranean connectivity in the years after 800 BC possible. Attic painted kraters such as the François vase (found in Chiusi) and the Euphronios krater (found in Cerverteri) were crafted to be "entangled", and entangled with and within Epic narratives where the (in)dividual figures were given their own agency through inscriptions (Whitley 2012) – and it is this what gives the Attic black-figure and red-figure kraters we find in Etruria their significance. There is however a risk in following Hodder, who seems to be proposing "that, as material entanglements succeed one another, so the "dividual" gives way to the individual. The "rise of the individual" is a progressive, neo-evolutionary trope of which we should be wary. We, Euro-Americans (in Strathern's terms) may not be as far away either from Homeric heroes or Melanesian dividuals as we might think, as an exchange in a Dublin pub in June 1904 might demonstrate (Joyce 1960 [1922], 387). Here our hero (Bloom/Odysseus) is involved in an entangled exchange, between the nectareous, native (Irish) beer and the embossed imperialism of a (British) Victorian penny. It is an exchange that brings him very close to his own Polyphemos (the Citizen, the prototypical Nationalist). But at the end of the story, he too (like our Mayor of London) might come to reflect that "τέτλαθι δή, κραδίη; καί κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης,.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1 Boars are not to be found in Crete today, but wild pigs may have been there in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (see Moody 2012, 247). So it is at least possible this helmet too might have been Cretan.

2 This last example was a conical base of a serpentine rhyton found as part of the fill of an LM Ib–LM IIIA1 well (well 605, deposit 4a; Evely 2007, 171 and 174, fig. 7.6; MacGillivray *et al.* 2007, 122, no. 531) along with much other debris that can hardly be counted as in any way special or ritual. Fragmentation seems to have been practised on other complex Neopalatial objects, such as the Palaikastro kouros, where I find myself in profound disagreement with the excavators' "ritual" interpretation of this object (MacGillivray *et al.* 2000; Whitley 2009; see also Stevens and Simandraki-Grimshaw this volume).

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28

Epilogue: Bodies in the Eastern Mediterranean

Kostas Kotsakis

In an early paper on embodiment, Lynn Meskell (1996) ended her argument wondering whether *the body* will eventually remain a central analytic subject in archaeology or will dissolve into yet another intellectual fad. True, archaeology has come rather late in this field, which had already dominated the social sciences, anthropology, and feminist studies (Csordas 1994a){Csordas, 1994 #8978}{Csordas, 1994 #9578}{Csordas, 1994 #9578}. Almost two decades later, the proliferation of the relevant archaeological literature shows beyond doubt that the concept is now well-established and directs, one way or another, much of the ongoing archaeological analysis. Indeed, the conference presented in this volume shows the extent to which the archaeology of the body has penetrated even in areas with strong traditions of regionalism, such as the Eastern Mediterranean. Before anything else, we ought to congratulate the organisers for putting together this diverse and particularly remarkable collection of fine and well-thought papers.

The increasing visibility of the body in archaeology tallies quite well with the current social mood. It is probably the only time in the history of Western culture, after the classical Greeks, that the body has been so extensively idealised. Getting physical, exposing bodies usually, though not necessarily, built to perfection, dealing in multiple ways with our own body on a day-to-day basis, caring for its well-being and health, is not just a mental thing, an attitude, it is a hard fact of our daily lives. That this corporeality is tightly connected to identity and self is so blindingly obvious that a theoretical argument becomes in many ways redundant. On the other hand, the trajectory of the discipline throughout the last century has moved from the very general to the very specific, in a progression of homing in a sharper focus: from Kossina's chauvinistic interpretations to Childe's distinctive cultural typologies to the Binfordian concept of the social system to the post-processualist's discursive rules of social constructionism and finally to the identity modes of the individuals. Although the concept of embodiment in no way overlaps completely with the "individual" – as we will see further on – its persistence seems nevertheless to mark a real paradigmatic shift in the discipline which was long foretold.

Does Eastern Mediterranean archaeology form part of this paradigmatic shift? The contributions in this volume vary in their themes. Most tackle mortuary practices and personhood, dealing either with the bodies themselves and their treatment during or after burial, or with performances and practices related to the dead body. A smaller number deals with living bodies, either as ornamented surfaces, or as physical entities with special features. Less mention is made of the sensory aspects and bodily experiences, or of objects connected with bodies as a result of their manufacture or use.

To a certain degree, this greater attention to mortuary practices is understandable, if not predictable, given their high visibility in the archaeological record in general, the long archaeological tradition of relevant scholarship, especially in the Aegean Bronze Age, and the strong ideological element attributed to related practices. For a long time, mortuary rituals were considered the only secure footprint of the social realm available, revealing ascriptions of social status and asymmetry, distinguishing elite groups, defining ethnic identities, etc. Mortuary practices thus were, and still are, a privileged field for recognising social representations.

Leaving aside the predominance of mortuary evidence, we can divide the chapters of the volume in two broad categories, based on the way they define body: one that gives more emphasis on a system of meanings and social messages directly or indirectly inscribed on it, thus regarding the body as a nominal representation, and one that places the body as a lived experience in a phenomenological framework, and thus understands the body as a conditional existence. This clear distinction coincides broadly with the directions that relevant research has taken during the last two decades, and, as Csordas (1994b, 10) has pointed out in a slightly different framework, it is methodologically critical.

The physical body as an entity open to social and cultural manipulation seems from the start a much easier concept to grasp and represents one of the first approaches to the social dimension of the body employed in anthropology and archaeology (Douglas 1966; Wobst 1977) relating the body as a medium for the construction of identities. In more general terms, it forms a part of the general structuralist trend that stressed the semiotic aspect of culture as a web of meanings and the turn to textuality (Geertz 1973), which had so much subsequent influence on archaeological thought (Preucel 2006). On a closer look, however, it is not as straightforward as it was initially perceived by previous research. Two decades of intensive research on embodiment (Csordas 1994a; Meskell and Joyce 2003; Boric and Robb 2008; Joyce 2009) and the closer contact and dialogue with social theory, especially with power dynamics of Foucauldian body politics (Foucault 1971; 1972) and feminist studies (Perry and Joyce 2001), have changed dramatically archaeology's ideas about the body.

First, the very concept of a biological body that can be seamlessly produced from our biological substance is culturally inapplicable. "The biological person is both the medium and product of social action" as R. A. Joyce remarked in a review article on embodiment (2005, 142). The problem is that understanding the body as pre-cultural, and hence pre-social, leads to its exclusion from participating in the domain of culture. Clearly, the exclusion of culture is not among the intentions of an embodied archaeological analysis. Moreover, what seems like a simple dichotomy proves theoretically extremely difficult: a body existing prior to its cultural signification can only be available as a universal body, one that antedates by definition the social body by virtue of its biological substance. However, this would only be possible on the condition that we have accepted a clear dichotomy between object and subject. This dichotomy has devastating theoretical consequences, as we shall discuss now.

It is clear that bodies cannot be understood simply as neutral surfaces, on which social practice inscribes meaning. The remark applies to the various semiotic or hermeneutics approaches relying on the text metaphor (*e.g.* Hodder 1986; 1987; 1989; see Johnsen and Olsen 1992 for comments), but also, to some extent, to Foucauldian positions which seek to establish the discursive conditions of dominance on the body (Meskell 1996; Meskell and Joyce 2003; Turner 2003, xiv). These passive inert bodies which are given meaning by the active (and rational) mind, or to put it differently, the objectification of the body as opposed to the subjectification of the mind, re-instate the legacy of a Cartesian dualism between body and mind or between object and subject (Csordas 1994b, 7–9). On a deeper epistemological level, this legacy seeks context-free elements which guarantee that ideas formed in our mind correspond with the world. Subject/object epistemologies need to produce covering laws, as in natural sciences, or recognise rules, signs and symbols as in structuralism, or varieties of discourse as in poststructuralism (Dreyfus 1990, 2–4). Apart from a latent essentialism, the problem with these predominantly representationalist theories is that they conceive the human body as an object, on which social rationality is expressed. But why should bodies be excluded or be incapable of being the locus of subjectivity? To this reasonable question the phenomenological approach, which we will examine now briefly, offers a compelling answer.

The second strand of embodiment, therefore, defines body conditionally, as a contextualised engagement with the world. It stems from the phenomenological movement, in particular from its Heideggerian version. Heidegger understands the lived everyday practices, into which we are socialised, as something not necessarily represented in our mind, as something that does not form a mental image corresponding to the world, something that simply *is*, or

felt. This is in stark contrast with the other pillar of the phenomenological movement, Husserl, Heidegger's mentor, who bases phenomenology on intentionality, *i.e.* on the capacity of the mind to refer to an object because of its mental representation. The mental content of mind gives intelligibility to everything people confront in daily practices. For Heidegger on the contrary, it is the social context which forms the basis of intelligibility, not images of things in consciousness, as things remain withdrawn and invisible and they are not presenting themselves to our examination (Dreyfus 1990, 1–9; Olsen 2010). In phenomenological terms, things "disappear" from awareness, when everyday skills function normally; they return to awareness when they become dysfunctional (Heidegger 1962, 74–104). This rejection of the subject with an inner mental image and an outer independent object is clearly against the dualistic perception of body as a surface onto which cultural meanings are inscribed. Heideggerian phenomenology questions the venerable tradition of Cartesian separation of object and subject (Heidegger 1962, 122–34) or, in our case, body and culture, which, in reality, is nothing less than the philosophical foundations of modernity itself (Toulmin 1990).

Archaeologies of embodiment have the power to enrich archaeological phenomenology and overcome the methodological shortcomings remarked by Knappett (2005, 167–70) in his interdisciplinary approach. Phenomenology, as discussed here, is tied, at least as regards challenging the Cartesian legacy, to other remarkable developments in contemporary archaeology, namely material culture and materiality (Miller 2005; Tilley and Bennet 2008). Similarly, themes related to embodiment, such as the agency of bodies and material things (Gell 1998), the hermeneutic of action, as Ricoeur (1971; 1981) puts it, the making, dwelling and moving in the world (Ingold 2000; 2011), the experiencing the archaeological body (*pace* Joyce 2005, 147), the lived experience (Meskell 1996, 6; Ingold 2000) or the embodied lives (Meskell and Joyce 2003). A more focused version of phenomenology turns onto the senses (Hamilakis *et al.* 2002), with visible ties to the corporeal phenomenology of Merleau-Ponty (1962). In a similar vein, performativity places within specific social contexts the embodied, engendered lives of people in the past (Butler 1993).

Before concluding, some loose ends need to be addressed. I take it that "lived experience" does not refer solely to the sensorial aspects of experience. In a purely phenomenological approach, this would be impossible, since things, as we have already seen, do not appear in our conscience except only contextually, or as Gibson (1979) has argued in his ecological approach to visual perception, as the result of the movement of an organism as a whole in its environment (Ingold 2000). This is what Ingold would call the "dwelling perspective", the main quality of which is "the active engagement with the constituents of his or her surroundings … within a world that is inhabited by beings of manifold kinds, both human and non-human" (2000, 5). With the addition of things, which Ingold does not mention in his description here, but he does in his later work (*e.g.*, Ingold 2009), the conclusion is that people are engaged in the world though their social and cultural faculties, as parts of their social networks entangled with things (Olsen 2010; Hodder 2011). This makes social networks, or meshworks (Ingold 2007a; 2007b), resembling containers of humans and things together with their inter-connections (Latour 2005; Knappett 2013).

Networks or meshworks are, of course, the place where agency is exercised, identities are created and personhoods sustained (Dobres and Robb 2000). But Hodder, recently, took a different path: instead of linear inter-connections, he opted for the dialectical tensions between humans and things and their mutual dependency within the historical contingency (2012, 91–4). Following this idea (2012, 213–6), he stresses the agency of the network itself, rather than of the agents, still in a context of historical contingency. Devoid of agency, the concept of meshwork runs the risk to become a worn-out normative structuralist entity, which is construed as functioning independently of its, passive in any case, members. It seems we cannot dispose of the agency of humans and things altogether. One thing, though, is certain: archaeology cannot be dissociated from the historicity of these meshworks, as it comes face-to-face with the temporality of bodies and things contained in them.

Speaking about bodies with histories, however, attention should be paid to using bodies as simply synonymous to persons. Often these bodies-cum-persons are transformed, automatically, into individuals. The danger here, already clearly pointed out by previous research, is to confuse the past individual with the modern western individual, a category of personhood in which the defining characteristic is precisely the personal uniqueness and indivisibility (Fowler 2004). In fact, individuality is a central feature of the contemporary mode of personhood, a characteristic product of particular historical conditions, built with what Foucault has described as "technologies of the self" (1986) and already recognised by Marcel Mauss' in his "techniques of the body" (Mauss 2006).

Anthropology has demolished effectively the essentialism inherent in this view by indicating that identity and personhood in non-western contexts can be partible and hybrid, characterised by dividuality rather than individuality, and contain also other persons and things (Strathern 1988). Similar reservations can hold for the seemingly secure border between the living and the non-living bodies, which we are normally prepared to accept as indubitably natural (Bloch and Parry 1982).

Approaches to embodiment in this volume discuss a multiplicity of related themes, often focussing closely on everyday skills or practices. Making pots, tools or ritual objects, shaping bodies, performing feasting or funerary activities, projecting narratives of performing bodies through art, intentionally fragmenting objects, or bodies, producing, relocating and owning spaces, are all related to the embodied life and the experience of being-in-the-world as argued above. Together with discussions on embodied structures of meaning and projected social identities, they signify the potential of the embodiment concept for archaeology. Needless to say, the physical realities of the bodies assessed through the application of theoretically aware osteoarchaeological (Sofaer 2006) and bioarchaeological analysis (*e.g.* Richards *et al*. 2003; Tarlow and Stutz 2013) are an important dimension. Likewise, diet, which does not contribute much in the present volume, is a potentially valuable aspect for the lived experience of past people (Halstead and Barrett 2004). What has to be said, however, is that in the context of Eastern Mediterranean archaeology, with its strong tradition of culture history and the related prominence of works of art, this turn to the individual bodies seems like a bold, yet very significant, step forward.

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